

**ART, EDUCATION AND ENTERTAINMENT: THE STRING QUINTET
IN LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VIENNA**

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ART, EDUCATION AND ENTERTAINMENT: THE STRING QUINTET IN
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This dissertation explores the role of chamber music within Viennese enlightened theories of social and national education (*Bildung*). As such it confronts the apparent contradiction between music's status as a fine art and music's vibrant presence and vital role within the city's social calendar. Chapter 1 explores enlightened theories of art's role in education as part of the larger demands of forming a unified society, which troubled the European nations towards the end of the eighteenth century. Turning to the repertoire of the mostly unknown string quintets circulating in Vienna in the 1780s and 90s as a case study, Chapter 2 illustrates how an understanding of music as an essentially *bildend* (formative) social practice infiltrated the compositional make-up; I argue further that composers were writing within a culture that appreciated first and foremost music's socially educating function.

Chapter 3 focuses on music's entertaining function, providing both social documentation and philosophical rationale for the claim that entertainment was an integral aspect of the process of *Bildung*. Chapter 4 assesses the relevance of musical arrangements for the chamber within music's status as art, illustrating that music's unique promise for sensual experience is as instrumental to music's artistic potential as its potential for active engagement. Chapter 5 documents

the shift away from an art that gains its highest potential through its interactive nature to an art that inspires solitary contemplation and reverie. A brief epilogue outlines that this shift is in fact a political move that colonises the aesthetic experience of the individual.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Born in Aachen, Germany, Wiebke moved to the UK in 1991 to commence her University Studies. She studied for the Bachelor in Music at Trinity College of Music London (accredited by the University of London in 1995), where she also pursued her studies as a violinist. She received a postgraduate diploma in performance and a Licentiate Teaching Diploma from Trinity College of Music, before pursuing musicology at King's College University of London, where she wrote her M.Mus Dissertation on the integration of social and compositional aspects in the accompanied sonata in the second half of the eighteenth-century, under the supervision of Dr. Cliff Eisen.

In 2000 Wiebke moved to Ithaca, NY to study for the Ph.D. in Musicology at Cornell University. In the fall of 2002 she was a research fellow to Prof. Neal Zaslaw working on the revision of the *Köchel* catalogue, and she held teaching fellowships during the academic year 2001/2002 and the spring of 2003. She received the Master of Arts degree in 2003 and spent the following three years in Paris, London and Vienna (as a fellow of the Austrian Exchange Service) researching her dissertation.

Wiebke holds teaching positions at King's College London and at Trinity College of Music, and she is a visiting fellow at Southampton University. She has published in *Early Music*, *Acta Mozartiana*, and *Eighteenth-Century Music*. She is co-editor of *Musikalisches Denken im Labyrinth der Aufklärung: Wilhelm Heinses Roman Hildegard von Hohenthal (1794/96)* (forthcoming 2007). Wiebke also pursues an

active performing career as a Baroque violinist and appears regularly with groups in England and Holland.

She lives in London with her husband Joe and their son Oscar. Together they are eagerly awaiting the imminent arrival of Oscar's younger brother.

Der gebildete Mensch begnügt sich bei dem Genusse des Musik, wie jeder andern schönen Kunst, nicht gern mit diesem Genusse allein. Ungern verschließt er das Wohlgefallen und die Freude in sich, welche ihm zu Theil ward. Er sieht sich nach mitfühlenden Seelen um, welche das Vergnügen mit ihm theilen und in seinen Beifall einstimmen... Der süße Zug der Geselligkeit ist es, welcher den Menschen mächtig bewegt, seine tieffsten, schönsten, edelsten Gefühle in Begriffe und Worte zu fassen.

(Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung. No.43. Mittwoch, den 27.

October 1813)

To my fellow lovers of music

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PREFACE

"When something in the fine arts is almost universally pleasing, it must have some worth. To understand this kind of worth is not without interest for the art. To reject such a thing without examination is as foolish as to accept it without question."¹

The 1780s and 90s are thought of as the heyday of the "classical string quartet;" yet, during these decades Viennese music lovers devoted their time just as readily to the playing of string quintets. In fact, when the Viennese reported of a morning spent playing "Quartetten" they rarely meant a gathering of four people playing through today's revered canon of string quartets by Mozart and Haydn. Rather, "Quartetten" was used as a generic term for chamber music gatherings, which could include solo keyboard music, songs, mixed chamber music and – as one amongst equals – string quartets. These gatherings were usually made up of a pool of professional musicians, technically competent dilettantes, and music lovers who would merely listen, partaking in the conversation about the music rather than in the music itself.

In this dissertation I approach chamber music through the eyes of these musical devotees. I focus specifically on Vienna for two reasons. Firstly, in the eyes of much of the rest of enlightened Europe, Vienna was considered backward in its intellectual development, its tastes (particularly in literature) and its customs, all of which were considered puzzling, incoherent and, at worst, archaic. At the same time, however, two of Europe's most illustrious composers – acknowledged as such then as now – were associated with Vienna:

¹ Anton Reicha, *Treatise on Melody*, trans. Peter M. Landey, ed. Thomas Christensen (NY: Pendragon Press, 2000), 67.

Mozart and Haydn. What the northern-German critics all agreed on was that the Viennese displayed a remarkable feeling for music, a feeling that is today believed to have fostered the talents of these two men. However, their work is rarely seen to represent the general musical feeling among the Viennese; rather, our traditional narrative has elevated their works beyond their cultural background.

The idea that Mozart's works in particular were increasingly foreign to the frivolous Viennese, leading to a gradual alienation of the ingenious artist from society, has begun to give way in recent scholarship to more nuanced narratives that allow for Mozart's interaction with the musical conventions of his time;² still his music is rarely contextualised within contemporary ideologies of performance. Comparison between his music and that of his contemporaries – throughout German musicological writing unfortunately termed "Kleinmeister" – serves merely to highlight his ingenuity. This view is maintained because our modes of analysis remain firmly rooted in two complementary ideologies: firstly, a work of art is represented fully in its textual manifestation and, secondly, each work of art that is a "masterpiece" is an autonomous coherent whole that gains meaning from the reflection of content in form and form in content. Whereas in recent studies of eighteenth-century music the notion that a piece of music must always have one true and unalterable manifestation is gradually receding behind more fluid concepts of the work, the idea

² Recent approaches are summarised in Simon P. Keefe, *The Cambridge Companion to Mozart*, *Cambridge Companions to Music* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). The paradigm shift has been particularly pertinent in opera studies, i.e. Mary Kathleen Hunter and James Webster, *Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna*, (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

that its meaning reveals itself in a text remains unchallenged, not least because textual sources appear to be the only concrete historical facts we can work with. As such, reading is still largely treated as a fixed, a-historical action.

In this dissertation I want to challenge this notion of reading as an a-historical phenomenon. Instead, I posit the idea that it is exactly the manner and process of reading, which a particular art-form and a particular work inspire, that is central to the eighteenth-century definition of art. As such I seek meaning in chamber music through its contemporaneous approach to performance, which I claim is action-based rather than text-based. I defend this position from four distinct, yet interrelated angles.

In Chapter 1 I explore the central question why chamber music was integral to Viennese life in the late eighteenth century through the writings of two of the city's foremost enlightened thinkers. Joseph von Sonnenfels and Gottfried van Swieten both held significant political positions, through which they had considerable influence on the enlightened project of forming a society that is ideally unified from within rather than through an autocratic political system. Both propounded the belief that the key to this society is the education of each person's sense of individuality, thereby nurturing self-worth and, with that, responsibility towards society. The education of the individual is a process of emancipation jointly fostered by the education of reason, and by the nurturing of moral sensitivity which, according to Sonnenfels and van Swieten, is an inherent human quality. For both, moral sensitivity is intimately tied to man's innate

need for a community. Morality, therefore, is the instinctive emotional and sensual faculty that keeps a tight rein on the expanses of reason. Here, politics and aesthetics coincide, as the education of morality must be of political concern. Nothing else is so apt to educate moral sentiment as the different arts, for art, like morality, stands at the threshold of reason and sensuality.

In chapter 2 I take a closer look at the repertoire of the string quintet in order to establish a mode of analysis that accounts for the music as a series of meaningful actions rather than a series of metaphors, an analysis that determines not the form of one piece, but the formation of utterances. I treat the pieces not as works, but as a repertory of common gestures; I search for the common features rather than the differences, and explore meaning within the usual, not the unusual. Here, I borrow from twentieth-century speech-act theory the ideas of *performative* and *constative* statements, and I attach these to Kofi Agawu's system of musical semiotics.³ On a more general level my approach is influenced by ideas developed in reader-response theory insofar that I take the "reader," i.e. the performer and listener of this music, as being encoded in the textual manifestation of the act of engaging with this chamber music. The performative gestures of this repertoire are aimed at, and result from, a society that idealised its own education through entertainment. They resonate with ideologies of entertaining education that are all-pervasive in the Viennese salons. Through the repeated acting of particular gestures, social structures

³ Kofi Agawu, *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

are exercised; they act as aides-mémoires through both the context and sensation of entertainment. Music-making – the production of a sensual and rational sound image – is an empowerment of the individual. Through the repeated act individuality is developed and exercised within strictly confined rules, which are given by society. Here, the string quintet offers a particularly apt case study, as one of its traditionally recognised generic features is the freedom for myriad voice combinations. Rather than interpreting these combinations as choices made by the composer in order to punctuate the formal outline or *Anlage* of the composition, I read these as choices in social and entertainment politics that resonate with contemporaneous theories of "Vergnügen" (entertainment) as an essential element in the process of *Bildung* (education).

Chapter 4 explores the fundamental question whether this repertoire does indeed aid the moral education of man from a philosophical point of view. Here, I explore the idea that eighteenth-century theories of art, without exception, posit not the autonomy of art, but rather its distinct purpose, the moral education of man. Further, I investigate how chamber music as a subset of instrumental music, which was still controversial at this time, can indeed fulfil art's purpose. Instrumental music touches man at his deepest, in his soul, because it is the art of sensuality more than rationality. If sensuality is not mediated by rational concepts as expressed in language (vocal music), it can nevertheless be pressed into the service of moral education through its communal experience. As such, instrumental

music's sensual appeal makes man's inherent morality and his innate need for community resonate in tandem.

The final chapter presents a comparison between the ideals of a chamber music that gains meaning mainly in the act of playing, and a chamber music that is intended to transmit a higher truth through inner coherence. Stylistic discrepancies between chamber music of the late eighteenth century and the 1820s, a period that covers Beethoven's early and late styles, clarify the departure from music as a language-like communication system towards the idea that music is the premonition of a higher truth. Music's purpose to inspire communication between its devotees is replaced by its role as a higher truth that the individual must seek to understand. Social communication is replaced by individualisation. I explore how this fundamental shift infiltrates the music itself, its publication format and its theory. Finally, I hint, albeit briefly, at the fact that this shift away from communality to individuality is not only a matter of aesthetics, but actually reflects a political ideal that is diametrically opposed to the stated objectives of the late enlightenment. Our inherited methods of analysing and assessing Haydn's and Mozart's music within the ideological system of the early nineteenth century deprives them of their lively social and political message.

Chapter I: Enlightened Discourse and the Spirit of Disparity

1. Diversity in the Viennese Cityscape

During my whole life I have experienced nothing more tedious than a long journey down a tree-lined avenue. The eternal repetition of trees, one like the other, tires the eye, and with the eye the power of thought. My mood would have been considerably darkened had it not been for the conversation with my friend.¹

The mesmerising qualities of a regularly recurring image, the rhythmic clicking of cartwheels, trees evenly spaced and identical in colour, height and shape portray a universe of law and order, in which each individual is made-to-measure. Far from thriving on their potentially calming effect, Julius Wilhelm Fischer stoically endured long journeys in order to reach the next place of lively culture. In 1801 and 1802 he left his northern German abode to explore Austria, Hungary, Venice, Bohemia and Moravia. His reports - part diary, part letters to a fictional friend - span three large volumes, which are dominated by the descriptions of one place in particular: Vienna. Placing the exciting hustle and bustle of the Viennese urban landscape at the centre of his travelogue, Fischer reveals not only his predilection for the metropolis over the countryside. Rather, in both style and content, Fischer betrays his overarching concern with a larger philosophical question:

¹ Julius Wilhelm Fischer, *Reisen durch Österreich, Ungarn, Steyermark, Venedig, Böhmen und Mähren in den Jahren 1801 und 1802* (Wien: Im Verlage bey Anton Doll, 1803), 188: "Ich habe durch mein ganzes Leben nichts langweiligeres gefunden, als eine lange Fahrt durch eine Allee. Das ewige vorbeystreichen sich ganz ähnlich sehender Bäume, ermüdet mit dem Auge zugleich die Denkkraft, und würde gewiß wenigstens einen Theil meiner Stimmung zerstöhret haben, wenn nicht die Unterhaltung mit meinem Freunde, und seine nahe Abreise mich mehr, als die uns umgebenden äusseren Gegenstände beschäftigt hätten."

Does unity or contrast better inspire the education of a nation? This essential question underpins both his documentary reports of the Viennese cityscape and his observations of its topical undercurrents. Fischer adopts a dialectical stance in order to present these issues, thereby negotiating between pre-conceived ideas and received knowledge about the Viennese on the one hand, and his own immediate observations, thoughts and experiences on the other. He gives the impression of extending knowledge empirically, yet, his dialectical method is laden with ideology: for the most part he clothes his objections to received opinion in a seductive rhetorical argument that guides the reader in forming his own new ideas instead of confronting him with boldly stated counter-assertions.

As such, it is far from coincidental that Fischer published his travelogue in Vienna itself, thereby presenting his pertinent observations on the city's state of *Bildung* for the Viennese to ponder. In fact, Fischer engaged in a mode of educational discourse that had begun to pervade the city during the years of Joseph II's reign. Concerned with the state's inner stability, the emperor attempted to model himself as an enlightened dictator by promoting a gradual infiltration of new ideas that would lead to radical changes in the society's structure without inspiring the revolutionary movements that swept Northern Europe. Joseph II's statesmen aimed to unify the nation through a concern with *Bildung*, by which they meant not an anthropological and pedagogical system that served the furtherance of the individual. Rather, *Bildung* was understood to be the formation of

the individual according to society.² *Bildung* therefore pertained less to the individual and more to society as a whole and it denoted a unity that arose from a willing acceptance and expression of common objectives. In order to grant this acceptance any *Bildungssystem* relied on the exploration of contrasts, not on their eradication.

Fischer discovered a pride for diversity all over the Viennese cityscape. If his accounts are tainted with ideology they are nevertheless representative of a large number of late eighteenth-century descriptions of the city. Both Johann Friedel, impresario at the "Theater im hochfürstlich Stahrembergischen Freihaue auf der Wieden,"³ and the lawyer Johann Fuchs noted Vienna's idiosyncracies by comparing the city to its northern German counterparts. Unlike Berlin, Vienna had few large boulevards, and life centred around a conglomeration of small streets that linked the palace with St. Stephen's Cathedral:

Vienna is not shaped by elegantly laid-out streets. Most of them snake through the city, narrow and without pavements. ... The capital is not particularly big, it measures barely beyond one hour and a quarter in circumference and contains between 1300 and 1400 houses, solidly built from stone and often seven storeys high. The top floor is usually inhabited by tailors, who need the light. One says that the depth of the houses is equal to their height, and every house has its own basement and wood

² On the concept of *Bildung* in the eighteenth century, see Clemens Menze, "Bildung," in *Handbuch pädagogischer Grundbegriffe*, ed. Josef Speck and Gerhard Wehle (München: Kösel, 1970), Vol.1, 134-184; Rudolf Vierhaus, "Bildung," in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, ed. Otto Brunner et al (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1972-1997), Vol.1, 508-551; Ernst Lichtenstein, *Zur Entwicklung des Bildungsbegriffs von Meister Eckhart bis Hegel* (Heidelberg: Meyer Verlag, 1966); Günter Dohmen, *Bildung und Schule. Die Entstehung des deutschen Bildungsbegriffs und die Entwicklung seines Verhältnisses zur Schule* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1964).

³ Johann Friedel, *Antrittsrede bei Eröffnung des Theaters im hochfürstlichen Stahrembergischen Hause auf der Wieden* (Wien: Joh.Jos. Jahn, 1788).

storage. Except in palaces and few private houses, the Rez-de-chaussée is usually given over to shop vaults. Those on the *Graben* house beautiful and rich garments and other goods.⁴

Within the enclosed space of the inner city, all social classes and all manner of professions shared the same small spaces and winding streets, offering to the visitor an unusually diverse and colourful picture. And all manner of folk retreated to the city parks for diversion and relaxation. The Augarten, first established by Ferdinand III, was donated to the public by Joseph II, whom Fischer credits with "giving the Viennese as much pleasure as possible."⁵ Despite its rectangular lay-out and evenly spaced parades the Augarten nevertheless offered a variety of "free and ever-changing perspectives and vistas infinitely better than (Berlin's) Tiergarten."⁶ Fischer's, Fuchs' and Friedel's descriptions all stress the variety of prospects and perspectives that Vienna offered, both in the city's mapping and in the lay-out of its parks.

Fondness for diverse aspects resounded equally in the pride with which the Viennese attended their largest city retreat, the Prater. The once wild forest to the east of the city had been tamed just enough to

⁴ Johann Baptist Fuchs, "Fünfter Abschnitt. In der Kaiserstadt Wien. Verlobung 1779-1780," in *Erinnerungen aus dem Leben eines Kölner Juristen*, ed. Julius Heyderhoff (Köln: Verlag der Kölner Verlagsanstalt und Druckerei A.-G., 1912), 93-167, at 135: "Wien hat eigentlich keine elegante Form an Straßen. Die meisten sind schlangenförmig, nicht breit und mit keinen Trottoirs versehen. ... Die Hauptstadt ist nicht besonders groß, sie hat kaum 5/4 Stund im Umfang und etwa 13 bis 1400 Häuser, massive von Stein gebaut und oft sieben Etagen hoch, deren oberste meist von Schneidern bewohnt werden, um genugsames Licht zu haben. Man behauptet von den meisten Häusern ihre Tiefe stehe der Höhe gleich, wenigstens hat jede Haus-Etage ihren Keller und ihr Holzmagazin. Das Rez-de-chaussée bestehet, die Paläste und wenige Privathäuser ausgenommen, aus lauter Gewölben, unter welchen jene aufm Graben die schönsten und reichsten Mode- und sonstige Waren aufzeigen."

⁵ Fischer, *Reisen*, 73.

⁶ Johann Friedel, *Briefe aus Wien verschiedenen Inhalts an einen Freund in Berlin* (Leipzig und Berlin, 1784), 430.

provide an array of outlooks, slants and angles on nature, on secluded alleys and huts cradled herein, as on life in general:

He who loves nature untouched by art, will find his joy here. ... If you seek mile-long vistas down wide avenues... you'll find them here; - if you seek intricate shrubbery or forestry bursting with the dignity of age-old trees, if you seek solitude or bustle, birdsong or human cry, rippling water or foaming tankards of wine – here you'll find everything in infinite alternations and can you choose according to your taste.⁷

Here, the strict taming of nature, prominent at the Versailles-inspired Schönbrunn Palace Gardens and still fundamental to the idea and design of Joseph II's Augarten, was reduced to one clear-cut avenue, hewn from a myriad of idealised wild landscapes after the English model.⁸ In stark contrast to Capability Brown's famed English gardens, which offered the solitary wanderer both space and guidance for his imagination's path, the ideology behind the Prater trod not only the fine line between art and nature, but more importantly between society and nature, both of them incorporated into an artistic whole:

One part of the Prater is like a city dispersed into a garden - an array of beautiful, mediocre and ugly huts and summer houses. Nearly every inn keeper has his hut here, his pleasure house, his skittles alley, his games parlour, clay doves, swings, billiards,

⁷ Fischer, *Reisen*, 189: "Wer die ungekünstelte Natur liebt, findet hier seine Letze, und wieder ungleich besser, als in Ihrem Tiergarten. Wollen sie Meilen lange Aussichten durch breite Alleen, oder ausgehauene Bahnen, - sie finden sie hier; - wollen sie kleines Buschwerk, oder von alten ehrwürdigen Bäumen strotzende Waldung, Einsamkeit oder Gewühl, Vogelsang, oder Menschengeschrey, Wasserwellen, oder schäumende Weinbecher – alles können sie sich hier und in unendlichen Abwechslungen nach Ihrem Geschmacke wählen."

⁸ On the ideologies behind landscape gardening, see Adrian von Buttlar, *Der Landschaftsgarten: Gartenkunst des Klassizismus und der Romantik* (Cologne: DuMont, 1989) and Annette Richards, "Framing the Musical Picturesque," in *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1-33.

ballrooms and kitchens...this part of the Prater has the scent of Arcadia. Green grass to meander in between the old high trees grouped at random into little gatherings; a variety of folk forever lingering in the omnipresent shadows of the trees, ... the continuous alternation of things, now places filled with the hustle and bustle of men, now meadows enclosed on all sides by trees, now seemingly infinite avenues, now crowds of people again and so on, - all this makes the Prater the most pleasurable place for all those who love artless nature in its diversity of scenes.⁹

Friedel's colourful picture of the Prater places the social bustle of city folk at the centre of the artwork. The park, then, is both a reflection of and a model for Vienna's life, and regular visits to the park are obligatory for the Viennese. In fact, Fischer's description of a typical day in the life of a Viennese banker includes two such visits, one in the morning to join friends and acquaintances for breakfast over which the latest political and cultural news is shared, and the other in the late

⁹ Friedel, *Briefe aus Wien*, 436-7: "Ein Theil des Praters gleicht einer Stadt, die in einen Garten hineingestreut ist, so viele schöne, mittelmäßige und schlechte Buden und Sommerhäuser giebt es hier. Fast jeder Wirth hat hier auch seine Schenke, sein Lusthaus, seine Kegelbahn, seine Ringelspiele, Taubenschießen, Schaukeln, Billiarde, Tanzsäle und Küchen. ... Wenn man in dieser Gegend des Praters herumwandelt, so deucht es einem, in Arkadien zu schweben. Grüner Rasen, auf dem man zwischen hohen alten, verschiedentlich gruppierten Bäumen hin und her schlendert; in dem immer fort dauernden Schatten der Bäume eine unzählige Menge von Leuten, ... - die immerwährende Abwechslung der Gegenstände, itzt Plätze, voll vom Gewühl der Menschen, itzt wieder Wiesen, eingeschlossen von einem Quarré von Bäumen, itzt unabsehbare Alleen, itzt wieder Menschengewühl, und so fort, - alles zusammen macht den Prater für den, der die kunstlose Natur in ihren verschiedenen Scenen liebt, zum angenehmsten Ort." Fuchs describes the park in similar terms stressing its fusion of nature and city, see Fuchs, *Erinnerungen*, 142: "Der Prater ist dagegen ein bedeutender Wald, den der Kaiser hat durchhauen, Alleen bilden und diese nach perspektivischen Gegenständen als kleine Städte, Dörfer, Mühlen und dergleichen herrichten lassen. In dem Gehölze und an den Hauptwegen finden sich schön bemalte Hütten, in welchen man, wenn es zum voraus bestellt wird, sehr gut zu Mittag speisen, übrigens alle Erfrischungen zu wohlfeilen Preisen haben kann. ... Auch alle möglichen Spiele mit Kegeln, großen, kleinen und Federbällen, auf der Schaukel und mit Pferderennen usw. sind reichlich angebracht, so dass man sich ganz fürtrefflich darin die Zeit vertreiben und die nötige Bewegung machen kann. Viele Tausende finden sich daselbst ein, aber an Sonn- und Feiertagen kann man kühn auf 20000 rechnen, und wenn Stuver an einem schönen Tage Feuerwerk gibt, auf 30 bis 40000."

afternoon for a stroll in between attending one of the city's coffee houses and a visit to the opera.¹⁰

Joining in the spirit, Fischer provided vivid descriptions of the multitude of entertainments offered in the city. His panegyric on the Augarten concludes with a description of a typical concert, during which he heard a Haydn symphony, a ballet overture by Beethoven and a Mozart symphony.¹¹ He was in awe of the picture gallery at the Belvedere, but particularly admired the curiosity of the "Naturalienkabinett." Here, much to his approval, the visitor was not simply confronted with taxidermied curiosities; rather, each animal was placed in a constructed landscape that resembled its natural surroundings.¹² Fischer explained that this cabinet was met with fierce criticism from the conservative ranks for being too unsystematic. Nevertheless it enjoyed great popularity, which Fischer suggested was rooted in its artistic nature, for instead of visiting the cabinet as a systematic exhibit for natural sciences, the visitor had to view it as a large canvas upon which extends a picture that reverentially emulates the beauties of nature.¹³ Fischer suggested that the intention here was

¹⁰ Fischer, *Reisen*, 204.

¹¹ Fischer, *Reisen*, 76: "Nun war die Zeit der Musik gekommen, es mochte beynahe 8 Uhr morgens seyn, und alles strömte in den Saal. Eine große Symphonie von Haydn wurde sehr gut exequirt. Darauf kam eine Arie, von Madame Campi (Prima Donna auf dem Theater an der Wien) gesungen, dann eine Ouvertüre aus einem Ballette des Herrn von Beethoven, nun endlich noch eine große Symphonie von Mozart, alles sehr gut ausgeführt. Ich finde diese Morgenunterhaltung sehr angenehm."

¹² The "Naturalienkabinett" is amply described by Rosenbaum, who in November 1798 considered it the most befitting place to inspire his beloved's interest in him. However, popularity was such that he repeatedly failed to secure entry tickets. See Else Radant ed., "Die Tagebücher Joseph Carl Rosenbaum. 1797-1810," *Haydn Jahrbuch* 5 (1968), 53.

¹³ Fischer, *Reisen*, 62.

delectando pariterque monendo, to delight whilst simultaneously instructing.

The coffee houses seemed to serve similar purposes, albeit on a different scale. Serving as meeting places for discussion, business and diversion in the form of billiards and chess, they nonetheless surprised Fischer with their civilised atmosphere.¹⁴ They also held a variety of recent journals and almanacs in German, French, Italian and English, amongst these literary journals and theatre reviews.¹⁵ More generally, Fischer esteemed the Viennese publishing houses for supplying an extraordinary number of journals, books, music and engravings.

Fischer's observations paint a picture of an unusually lively society unified in its love for the city's meeting places, particularly the coffee houses, the theatre and the gardens with their musical establishments. At the same time the entertainments he described run the gamut from serious artistic contemplation to the more instantly gratifying delights of firework displays and cheap food stalls. Not only did he find comfort in this variety, but he perceived the medley of entertainments, the tastes they catered to and the opinions they generated as vital to a healthy society. Vienna presented a

¹⁴ Fischer, *Reisen*, 135: "Ich bemerke, daß es in diesen Kaffeehäusern nicht so lärmend und laut zugeht, als man nach der Menge, und der Verschiedenheit der Menschen denken sollte, welche hier zusammen treffen, und theils sich zu unterhalten, theils auch im Geschäfte abzumachen suchen. Auch werden hier sehr wenige hohe Spiele gespielt, zu welchen ich überhaupt bey den Wiernern wenig Lust bemerkte." Whether the lack of gambling is, as Fischer suspects, due to the Viennese complacent nature that makes it less well disposed to the flutter of high stake gambling is questionable, as his visit falls into the time during which gambling was prohibited by law.

¹⁵ Fischer, *Reisen*, 136.

kaleidoscopic unity, an array of colourful specks that unite to a grand picture, which engages the heart and the mind alike.

Fischer idealised the city as fertile ground for the furtherance of society, an opinion that resonated with many other writers. The cityscape becomes both indicator of and metaphor for the social and moral disposition of its society:

As soon as we admit that law and order, arts and sciences, culture and reflection, society and improvement – that these are the true and only roots of human society – then one must have respect for large cities. These are the only means to develop our natural forces, to teach us that we have a soul... Long live great cities! They make people out of barbarians, and this benefit reduces all critics to silence. What do these terrible deeds of the great city consist of? That one treats love in a slightly more easy-going way; that one laughs at the platitudes and idiocies of the Philistines; that one has carriages and servants; that one enjoys a good table, and the theatre; and that one lives not just for work but for pleasure.¹⁶

But Fischer extended this theme by investigating the relationship between art and human nature:

Firstly, it is in the nature of the common people to give preference to those things that grant them a happy, immediate and sensual delight; further, the fine arts only rarely grant a sufficient income; and finally, one can do nothing worse than to mistake one's inclination for such a pastime with an exceptional talent for the art.¹⁷

¹⁶ Johann Pezzl, *Skizze von Wien*, quoted in translation from H.C. Robbins Landon, *Mozart and Vienna* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1991), 63.

¹⁷ Fischer, *Reisen*, 209-210: "Erstens liegt es schon in der Natur des gemeineren Menschen, daß er dem den Vorzug giebt, was ihm fröhlichen, augenblicklichen, und sinnlichen Genuß gewährt; dann bringen die schönen Wissenschaften sehr selten hinlängliches Einkommen, und endlich kann jemand nichts Schlimmeres thun, als wenn er seine Neigung zu einer solchen Beschäftigung mit ausgezeichnetem Talente dafür verwechselt."

Man is most easily disposed towards instant pleasure and therefore has to be introduced gradually to the pleasures of contemplation, i.e. the pleasures of mind, reason and rationality that will ennoble him.¹⁸ Fischer deemed the Viennese progressive rather than regressive, for here he saw fulfilled two vital conditions that can yield *Bildung*. The first is the acceptance of contrast as the basis for public interaction, discussion and negotiation. Contrast, according to Fischer, is not only natural to man but necessary to society, as only differences in opinion can lead to the act of cognition (*Erkennen*). Secondly, he applauded the fusion of entertainment and art, which aids the interest in the latter and guarantees its lasting impression, for cognition relies on sensual perception as much as on rationalisation because pleasurable feelings assist in ingraining the rational constructs of knowledge. Although the love for both contrast and pleasure that pervaded Viennese life might appear superficial and, in fact, *ungebildet* at first sight, its conscious cultivation promoted by prominent political figures points to far deeper roots. These are embedded in the general concern with education, and official texts on the education system reveal their theoretical foundations. Far from remaining merely the intellectual ideals of government advisors, however, these thoughts were also presented to the Viennese readership in bite-sized essays presented in popular journals.

In 1807 Josef Richter took up the theme of contrast in his essay "Über den Geist des Widerspruchs." This philosophical-sociological discourse, freely adapted from the French Abbé Morellet, appeared in

¹⁸ Fischer, *Reisen*, 210.

"Apollonion. Ein Taschenbuch zum Vergnügen und Unterricht," one of the fashionable and diverting *Modejournale* that were commonly read by the Viennese urbanites.¹⁹ In educated society, Richter claimed, the mere enjoyment of contrast has turned into a veritable need as its members seek diverting disagreement and discussion. Only polite rhetoric would cause the individual to disguise objections with gracious parlance. Yet, *Widerspruch* – objection or secondary statement – affords a wealth of ideas, liveliness and facility of expression. None of these qualities is evident among the uneducated people (*ungebildete Völker*); hence while a people with *Bildung* displays the spirit of objection (*Widerspruchsgeist*), a people lacking *Bildung* is characterised by the weakness of credulity (*Leichtgläubigkeit*) and blind imitation (*Nachahmungssucht*).²⁰ The spirit of objection, Richter explained further, is the natural consequence of human endeavour, as it springs from the love for freedom, particularly freedom of speech and freedom of opinion:

Share with me your opinion on an object, a book, a person, and I can do little but take the path of objection; the more you want to impose your opinion on me the more you will awaken this spirit in me.²¹

¹⁹ Published by J.V. Degen, "Buchdrucker und Buchhändler in Vienna", the journal was in the typical 6x10 format that slips easily into the coat pocket and was therefore truly a *Taschenbuch*. Each installment contained poems and engravings, listed the feast days and gave the season's calendar with sun and moon eclipses. A beautiful possession, the booklet offered distraction alongside food for thought. Each volume also contained articles on education or "Sittlichkeit", a vital element of a successful communal city life. The 1807 edition was fittingly adorned with a frontispiece displaying a sacrifice to the multi-faced god Thesbos, see Figure 1.

²⁰ *Apollonion. Ein Taschenbuch zum Vergnügen und Unterricht* (Wien: J.V. Degen, 1807), 136.

²¹ Joseph Richter, "Der Geist des Widerspruchs," *Apollonion* (1807): 136-142, at 137: "Man sage mir seine Meinung über einen Gegenstand, über ein Buch, über einen Menschen, und mir bleibt wenig oder nichts übrig, wenn ich nicht den Weg des

The spirit of objection is the mental force that assists discovery and further exploration of truths, since the discoverer seeks to exhibit his discovery in a transparent manner in order to defend its validity. Objection helps to refine taste, and is the "finest spice of a gathering of educated people"²² (*gebildete Gesellschaft*).

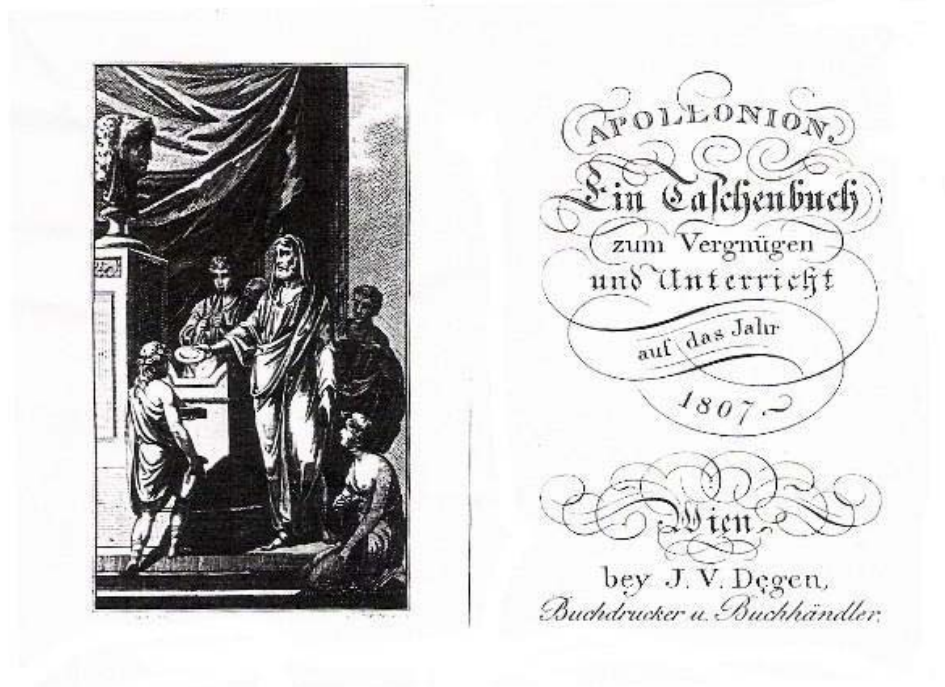


Figure 1: *Apollonion. Ein Taschenbuch zum Vergnügen und Unterricht auf das Jahr 1807. Frontispiece*

Widerspruchs einschlage; und je mehr man mir seine Meinung aufdringen will, desto mehr wird dieser Geist in mir aufgeregt."

²² Richter, *Geist des Widerspruchs*, 140-141.

However, the spirit of objection also poses a threat to any unified society and must therefore be curbed so as not to precipitate society's downfall:

A troublemaker is he who turns into a flame of angry dispute, what started off as a mere misunderstanding. Philosophers, theologians and politicians wage war against each other through his agency.²³

Frequently, Richter warned, the spirit of objection is raised solely for its own sake, and if one extracts the pure opinions, they often lie close enough together to be fused. This often occurs in political debates, in which the spirit of objection is a predetermined style rather than a matter of content. In order to curb the objectionable spirit and use it to society's advantage, i.e. to society's *Bildung*, Richter pointed to childhood as the place to sow the seeds. Educated by its parents at home, a child is likely to develop an overly-lively spirit of objection, for all its infantile efforts unite against the sole source of power the child can see - the parents. As such, institutional schooling is far preferable.

The institution of a regulated, nationwide schooling system had barely reached its 30th birthday when Richter promoted it as the only route towards the *Bildung* of a society, and general trust in its advantages were slow to take root. Before examining the official revisions to the education system and their underlying ideologies, I will review the concept of *Bildung* as revered by both Fischer and Richter.

²³ Richter, *Geist des Widerspruchs*, 141: "ein Ruhestörer (ist), der, was im Anfang nur kleiner Mißverstand war, bis zur Flamme des Zankes entfacht. Philosophen, Theologen und Politiker liegen durch ihn gegeneinander im Kriege."

Richter claimed that freedom of speech, contrast and dialogue are central to a "gebildete Gesellschaft." His warning against an overpowering spirit of objection was fuelled by the latent assumption that society becomes an ever tighter, safer and better-functioning entity through its *Bildung*. *Bildung* is the formation of a valuable society, and it in turn is based on a forum of free speech that sets boundaries within which objection is healthy, i.e. conducive to further, deeper knowledge. It is significant and symptomatic of the eighteenth-century thinker that Richter took these boundaries to be naturally given; just as it was human to possess the spirit of objection, Richter also thought it natural that this spirit arises only in reference to or through a certain topic, and not for its own sake. Objection for its own sake, however, is poisonous to society.

Fischer's travelogue not only describes physical locations and actual events, but it is abounding with passages designed to inspire the Viennese to think about their own degree of *Bildung*. Fischer clearly considered *Bildung* a communal aspect of a society, not the individual's level of knowledge; *Bildung* was expressed in the interaction and pastimes of a society rather than being measurable in the examination of someone's factual knowledge.²⁴ *Bildung*, therefore, was encapsulated in the manner of discourse that a society held, i.e. in its cultural and political dialogues, in its arts and entertainments. Here, Fischer's disagreement with received opinion is crucial: although the Viennese were deemed uncultured by the northern Germans,

²⁴ Hence, the term does not translate straightforwardly to "education," nor to "culture."

Fischer disagreed on the grounds of Vienna's uniquely interactive society. He reported that the Viennese, well aware of these prejudices against them, would welcome the unassuming, yet supposedly superior visitor with a charming smile, with the utmost hospitality and with the following alleged apology for their city: "You might find wanting the superior knowledge, which are so prominent throughout your countries."²⁵ Yet this remark alone sufficed to rebuff the accusations of foreigners against the Viennese. For the accusation of "Unbildung" levelled against the Viennese relied largely on the assumption that the Viennese knew nothing of the outside world and were utterly uninterested in foreign matters. Put to shame, the observant foreigner had to ask himself why opinions about Vienna were so dismissive and why the city may appear to consist of a bunch of *idiots savantes* instead of a unified "gebildete Gesellschaft:"

How, precisely, is Vienna different from other cities in its education of taste, and why are the judgements on other large cities less contrary?²⁶

As Fischer noted, every metropolis comprised a large variety of people of different "trades, inclinations, social ranks, nationalities and abilities,"²⁷ and it followed automatically that within a city *Bildung* would not be unified across these divides. As a result, he encountered barbaric souls in the elegant city of Paris and fiery spirits in the

²⁵ Fischer, *Reisen*, 10: "Sie werden wohl die höhere Bildung hier vermissen, die man in ihren Ländern freylich viel allgemeiner antrifft."

²⁶ Fischer, *Reisen*, 11: "Inwiefern unterscheidet sich Wien von andern Städten in seiner Geschmacksbildung, und warum widersprechen sich die Urtheile über andere große Städte nicht ebenso?"

²⁷ Fischer, *Reisen*, 11: "Gewerbe, Neigungen, Stände, Nazionen und Fähigkeiten."

phlegmatic Amsterdam.²⁸ Yet what set these cities apart from Vienna was that each was dominated by a unifying *Nationalcharakter* – their inhabitants belonged to the same nation and subscribed to the same nationhood, which meant that their difference in *Bildung* was one of degree, not of type. In these cities one could conclude from a member of one class what the *Bildung* of a higher or lower class would be. For the traveller who was used to these conclusions, Vienna was a riddle that may bear unpleasant surprises: here, the nations were so manifold that *Bildung* and class did not coincide according to one system. One might dine one night in the most intellectual company, while the following evening diners of the same social rank might consider the same topics of conversation not just unsuitable, but deplorable.²⁹

It emerges from each one of Fischer's pages that in the late eighteenth century *Bildung* was understood to be neither education nor culture, but an amalgamation of moral values, common objectives and the desire for a united sense of self.³⁰ *Bildung* was the idea of a unity that is formed, but that relies on a natural tendency towards this unity in every individual; a unity that is, however, expressed through exchange as a steady dialogue of opinions betrays the continual

²⁸ Fischer, *Reisen*, 12.

²⁹ Fischer, *Reisen*, 12.

³⁰ This united sense of self is a predecessor to nationhood as the latter adds a sense of self in opposition to a sense of the other. The significance of *Bildung* in the nationalistic movements of the early and mid-nineteenth century with particular reference to the place of musical culture has recently been discussed by Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter ed., *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); and David Gramit, *Cultivating Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

formation of judgements. Within this ideological framework each individual as a member of society is held responsible for the formation of opinions and the negotiation of judgements with each other. *Bildung* emerges, exists and is measured through discourse.

2. Historical Interlude: Joseph II's Enlightened Absolutism and the Idea of the "Common Good"

The Austrian Enlightenment substantially redefined the state and established the concept of society. The divine right of the monarchy was replaced with the gradual establishment of the belief in the "common good," the will towards which was deemed a part of man's natural disposition. Here, Kant's famous demand for the emancipation from immaturity was interpreted as each individual's ethical duty towards society. Influenced by the thoughts of French philosophers such as Montesquieu and Voltaire, Joseph II proclaimed his status as the "servant of the people" in his seminal tract *Von der Glückseligkeit des gemeinen Wesens als dem Hauptzweck gut regierender Fürsten*. He assigned to himself and his committees the duty to establish "the best for the greatest number," while the state became the machinery towards the common good. His approach was driven by concerns with economic profitability, which informed his understanding of the common good. Further, the belief in a common good demanded a demonstrable common interest from the state, which Joseph II's reformers revealed through the systematic administration of legislation, jurisdiction and executive under the monarch's rule. Both monarch and state institutions were bound by the belief in a naturally

given order, the common good. While monarchic power was barely compromised, its spiritual foundations were radically shifted as the power of the church was undermined by a new belief system that empowered the individual.³¹

Amongst the Viennese illuminati, in lodges and salons, *Bildung* replaced religion; work ethic and endeavour betrayed the belief in the here-and-now rather than the afterlife. *Bildung* became a new spiritual belief that could unify a religiously and racially diverse people, and Joseph II promoted this tolerance by repealing discriminating legislation. Pragmatism, with a view to economic benefits, led him to extend the "exercitium privatum," the right to exercise one's chosen religion, to the Greek-orthodox and protestant communities, thus mobilising an efficient merchant class for the benefit of society. The masterminds behind Joseph II, his advisors Joseph von Sonnenfels, Baron Gottfried van Swieten and Wenzel Anton Graf Kaunitz, promoted the idea that *the fact* of a faith makes a good Bürger, not *the nature* of that particular faith.³² The act of tolerance of 1782 followed this idea by permitting a limited number of Jews, mostly with high economic profiles, to take residence in the inner city. The establishment of a

³¹ Recent literature on the idea of *Bildung* during the Josephinian era includes Otto Sashegyi, *Zensur und Geistesfreiheit unter Joseph II* (Budapest, 1958); Ulrich Engelhardt, *Bildungsbürgertum, Begriffs- und Dogmengeschichte eines Etiketts* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1986); Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des Österreichischen Bildungswesens. Von den Anfängen bis in die Zeit des Humanismus* (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1982); M.v.Benedikt, ed., *Verdrängter Humanismus, Verzögerte Aufklärung. Österreichische Philosophie zur Zeit der Revolution* (Wien: Turia & Kant, 1992).

³² Joseph von Sonnenfels, *Handbuch der inneren Staatsverwaltung mit Rücksicht auf die Umstände und Begriffe der Zeit* (Wien: Joseph Camesina und Comp., 1798), at 227, Sonnenfels wrote (with the annotation 'Contrat social 4,8'): "Daß jeder Bürger im Staate eine Religion habe, die ihn seine Pflichten lieben mache".

centrally regulated schooling system was supposed to promote the idea of the common good by presenting a common forum and granting a common language. In its idealised form, the new education system trained both individual thinking and the sense of unity, but Joseph II retreated from these ideals by restricting freedom of speech as soon as 1784/85, a mere four years after bestowing the freedom of press.

Granted in 1781, freedom of speech effectively abolished censorship, and the book trade flourished: both new publications as well as reprints of foreign material catered to a new readership. For the first time Vienna developed its own faction of literati and journalists – both ready to critique the monarchy. The circle was extended beyond the already literate through a new tradition of public readings (*Vorlesen*) as practiced by the Viennese cleric Wieser, who held reading circles at a public house on political events, for which the community paid him a salary.³³ The golden years were not to last: fearing the threat of this ever-stronger faction of public opinion, Joseph II revoked part of the freedom of press in 1784/85 to exclude the publication and dissemination of state criticism. Under the menacing shadow of the French revolution, a whole-hearted change in sentiment was expressed through new censorship laws instated to guarantee the general peace (*Aufrechterhaltung der allgemeinen Ruhe*). The common good served Joseph II as the pretext to re-establish his dictatorial authority and silence his citizens. The rubicon was crossed when Joseph II ordered the monitoring of coffee houses, inns and Masonic lodges, which had

³³ Ernst Wangermann, *Aufklärung und staatsbürgerliche Erziehung: Gottfried van Swieten als Reformator des österreichischen Unterrichtswesens 1781-1791* (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1978), 36.

become the meeting and discussion places for civil servants, clerics, students and literati.

Joseph II's revocations were affirmed under his brother Leopold II. Upon his ascension to the throne, Leopold II discussed "preliminary ideas towards the foundation of a patriotic association".³⁴ Considering the secret societies and their uncontrollable independence as a pending threat, Leopold sought to hoist them with their own petard by initiating his own pro-monarchic secret society. Here, he attempted to brandish critique as anti-patriotic. The tides were turning: if the spirit of critique and the belief in the common good had once been easy bedfellows, they had now shifted into opposition. The spirit of objection was now considered to undermine the "common good;" in order to ensure the common good, then, the state had to direct public opinion. Joseph II's model of "common good" had revealed itself to contain two diametrically opposed forms of state: firstly, the idea of a state as institution that seeks the largest possible well-being of the largest possible number of citizen based on the free acknowledgement of the common good.³⁵ Secondly, the design of the state as an organisation of power, in which institutionalisation became a means of controlling the idea of the common good. Joseph II's initial belief that the two were compatible stemmed from a conflation of individual endeavour with the

³⁴ The phrase "Vorläufige Ideen zur Gründung einer patriotischen Association" served as title for the plan of a new system of constitutional monarchy suggested by Leopold's advisor, Leopold Alois Hoffmann. *Vertrauliche Akten*, Karton 38, fol.79r., Beilage 4 zu den "Vorläufigen Ideen," Punkt 3. quoted from Gerda Lettner, *Das Rückzugsgefecht der Aufklärung in Wien 1790-1792* (Frankfurt/NY: Campus Verlag, 1988), 53.

³⁵ Ernst Walder, "Zur Problematik des Aufgeklärten Absolutismus," in *Der aufgeklärte Absolutismus*, ed. Karl O.v. Aretin ed. (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1974), 123-126.

common good, based on the idea that man's naturally gregarious disposition guaranteed the individual's willing subjugation under a greater, common good. This fallacious conflation also lay at the heart of his advisor Joseph von Sonnenfels' political writings.

3. *Bildung as Nation Formation in Late Eighteenth-Century*

Vienna: Ideals of Unity through Reason

In 1798 Joseph von Sonnenfels published his *Handbuch der inneren Staatsverwaltung mit Rücksicht auf die Umstände und Begriffe der Zeit*.³⁶ His constitutional model was based on three assumptions about human nature. Firstly, he believed that communal living as opposed to solitary life is a state of nature. Secondly, he extended this to explain that "Vergesellschaftung," i.e. the formation of a society with rules and regulations, is natural to man.

Man living in solitude is not man in his natural state. ... the state of nature would otherwise be a state of constant lacking and of constant fear. But man in solitude, who feels the helplessness of his situation, also feels that he can remedy this situation, that he has the ability to better his condition. His Reason, which is what distinguishes him from an animal, leads him to recognise the means through which he can improve his state. These means lie in the act of forming communities with his equals. The natural state of man is thus the state of community.³⁷

³⁶ Sonnenfels, *Handbuch* (for full reference see note 32). Sonnenfels is associated chiefly with assuring the abolition of torture, a political move that was not only inevitable, but less relevant than it seems today as it merely replaced torture with hard physical labour, a form of punishment that served the common good. Musical Scholars have given little attention to his *Handbuch* referring instead to his *Briefe über die wienerische Schaubühne* and his anonymous collection *Der Mann ohne Vorurtheil*.

³⁷ Sonnenfels, *Handbuch*, 3: "... der einzeln lebende Mensch ist nicht der Mensch im Stande der Natur. ... der Stand der Natur wäre sonst ein Stand des beständigen Mangels, der beständigen Furcht. Aber der einzelne Mensch, da er das Unbehülfliche

Thirdly, and most problematically, Sonnenfels defined this natural society to be the state, so that the state is naturalised by taking the role of the society, which is natural to man:

This general society is the state. Stepping into it has given its individual members, from which it was formed, a new name, has given them new relationships. Men have become citizens: creatures, which through their elected state have - as parts - found the relationship to a whole.³⁸

Whereas the first two are *a priori* conditions rooted in human nature, the third is a condition of rational definition as the individual responds to his natural need for community in a specific format, the state.

Sonnenfels considered the relationship between individual and state to be determined by certain fundamental agreements, which he summarised in three manifestos: "Unity of purpose, unity of the will, unity of power."³⁹ The "unity of purpose" describes an interest in communal benefits, to which private benefit must be subordinated. In fact, Sonnenfels claimed that the latter is only seemingly subordinated, as critical reflection would reveal that what seemed at first sight to be an advantage to the individual would in fact turn into a disadvantage

seiner Lage fühlet, fühlet zugleich, dass er demselben abzuhelpen, dass er seinen Zustand zu verbessern, fähig ist. Die Vernunft, durch die er sich von dem Thiere unterscheidet, lässt ihn das Mittel nicht verkennen, wodurch er einen verbesserten Zustand erreichen kann. Dieses Mittel ist die Vergesellschaftung mit seines Gleichen. Der natürliche Zustand des Menschen ist also der Stand der Gesellschaft."

³⁸ Sonnenfels, *Handbuch*, 4 : "Diese allgemeine Gesellschaft ist der Staat. Die Übertretung in denselben hat den einzelnen Gliedern, aus denen er zusammengesetzt ward, einen neuen Namen erworben, hat sie in neue Verhältnisse gesetzt. Die Menschen sind Bürger geworden: Wesen, die durch die Natur ihres selbstgewählten Standes, nunmehr als Theile zu einem Ganzen Beziehung haben."

³⁹ Sonnenfels, *Handbuch*, 4: "Einheit des Endzwecks, Einheit des Willens, Einheit der Kraft."

for this individual within the larger context of the common good.⁴⁰ Sonnenfels believed in man's natural disposition to mediate feeling with reason so that the individual's inclination towards his own benefit would always lead to the reasonable recognition that any personal benefit would only be complete if it coincided with the common good. He considered reason (*Vernunft*) to be man's natural disposition towards society, which intrinsically linked man and society in aims and objectives:

The final purpose, for which men enter into a society, is always a larger benefit, which none of them individually has the moral or physical capacity to achieve; a benefit, which considered by itself, is on the one hand the individual benefit of each member, but because this individual benefit is sought out by all equally, and each member enhances his own benefit by elevating the benefit of his next, so this benefit is called the general, communal, the universal benefit, or the common welfare.⁴¹

It is man's faculty of reason, therefore, that facilitates a communal society. Reason as a human capacity serves communality rather than individuality. It follows that the education of reason is of primary importance to any society; because Sonnenfels aspired to make the state the representation of man's natural inclination towards society he considered the education of reason of primary importance. In Sonnenfels' model, however, the education of reason was seminal not only to guaranteeing a stable state, but also towards the formation of

⁴⁰ Sonnenfels, *Handbuch*, 5.

⁴¹ Sonnenfels, *Handbuch*, 13-14: "Der Endzweck, um dessen Willen die Menschen in eine Gesellschaft treten, ist stets dasjenige Beste, welches zu erhalten, sie einzeln weder zureichendes sittliches noch physisches Vermögen besitzen; ein Bestes, das für sich betrachtet, zwar das einzelne Beste eines jeden Mitglieds ist, aber, da dieses einzelne Beste von allen gleich gesucht wird, und jedes Mitglied dadurch, dass es das Beste des andern befördert, auch das Seinige befestigt, so wird es das allgemeine, das gemeinschaftliche, das Gesamtbeste, auch nur das Gesamtwohl genennet."

this stability in the first instance. As such Sonnenfels demanded a large portion of idealism that manifested itself in the initially blind belief that the government is an expression of the common will. The individual in his uneducated state had to defer power to the educated board of representatives. Reason is temporarily suspended in favour of imagination and idealism.

Still, Sonnenfels' ideal state implied a finely nuanced, yet essential discrepancy between education and *Bildung*, i.e. the education of reason. Under the old feudal system, education and *Bildung* were one and the same thing, as the economic objectives of the state and the individual's contribution were conflated, so that the main task of the individual's education was to make him obedient, diligent and productive. By introducing the category of reason, Sonnenfels split the two domains: *Bildung* was now the negotiation towards the establishment of the common objective and the common will, education the training of the behavioural patterns necessary to enter into this forum. For Sonnenfels, then, education was the training towards being a Bürger, whereas *Bildung* was the action of being a Bürger. Education and *Bildung* together transform a mass into a society, a heap into a people:

This must have been the first manifestation of the communal will in the emergence of states: the transition from a large number to a society, from a heap to a people, from anarchy to the simplest forms of democracy, in which each citizen had the right to make choices, and in which each decision required a general consensus.⁴²

⁴² Sonnenfels, *Handbuch*, 8: "Ungefähr mußte dieses die erste Gestalt, die erste Art gewesen seyn, wie sich der gemeinschaftliche Wille bey dem Entstehen der Staaten erklärte: Übergang von der Menge zur Gesellschaft, vom Haufen zu einem Volke, von

Sonnenfels' interpretation of the role of reason compromises the emergence of individuality by placing the individual as a single piece into the larger jigsaw puzzle that is society, thereby making him essential to its completion, yet assuming a pre-given shape. It transpires that Sonnenfels' idealism was in fact a deep-rooted belief in the invalidity of individuality separate from society.

According to this set of beliefs the education system must, therefore, be designed to encourage a definition of self via communal rules. Freedom, in Sonnenfels' eyes, was the replacing of fear with a code of honour as the latter leads to self-imposed rather than dictated regulation and restraint. Education, which is thus concerned less with the formation of self-consciousness, but rather encourages the exercise of *Vernunft* together with the recognition of the common good, must be the subject of state control. The earliest educational steps must be infused with the state's ideals in order to establish a moral and ethical code that stabilises the state from the inside. Sonnenfels brought education level with religion in the formation of a unified society:

After religion, the greatest influence on our moral habits is undoubtedly education. ... In each child we do not simply raise a private household's son or daughter, but a citizen for the common good. ... The laws of education are according to Montesquieu's vital remark the first that restrain the future citizen. Therefore, all public offices are working in vain, if the first direction, which contains the will and ability of the youth, runs contrary to that, which will guide him during his adult life.

der Anarchie zu der einfachsten Demokratie, wo von allen Bürgern kopfweise gestimmt, und zu einem Beschlusse die allgemeine Einstimmung gefordert ward."

Two lines that depart from each other even in the most minute way will never meet again.⁴³

In 1781 Gottfried van Swieten was appointed "Präses der Studienhofkommission," an office that put him in charge of the Austrian education system. Van Swieten conducted ground-breaking revisions on the education system and, in agreement with Sonnenfels, he appealed for a focus on values common to all denominations, i.e. matters of productivity and morality. His seminal role in the restructuring of Austrian life has mostly been neglected in musical scholarship, which instead narrowed its interest in van Swieten to his artistic endeavours. Highlighting his influence on musical life as a patron of Mozart and Haydn and as librettist for the latter's "The Creation," musical scholarship acknowledges van Swieten as a major enlightenment figure, but his concern with the education of taste has rendered him an elitist thinker in these narratives.⁴⁴ Historians paint a rather different picture. Here, the still dominant view of van Swieten's achievements was presented by R. Kink and H. Wolfsgruber in the mid- and late nineteenth century, portraying him as a stern believer in bureaucracy, whose sole intention it was to educate individuals into

⁴³ Sonnenfels, *Handbuch*, 248: "Nach der Religion hat die Erziehung auf die Sitten ungezweifelt den größten Einfluß. ... in dem Kinde wird nicht nur dem Privathause ein Sohn, eine Tochter, auch dem gemeinen Wesen wird ein Bürger, wird eine Bürgerin erzogen. ... Die Gesetze der Erziehung sind nach der wichtigen Bemerkung Montesquieus die ersten, denen der künftige Bürger unterworfen wird. Die öffentliche Verwaltung arbeitet daher vergebens, wenn die erste Richtung, die den Willen und die Fähigkeiten der Jugend erhalten, verschieden von derjenigen läuft, welche die Gesetze dem reifen Alter geben sollen. Zwey Linien, die nach einer anfangs auch unwahrgenommenen schiefen Richtung gezogen werden, können nie wieder in einem Punkt zusammentreffen."

⁴⁴ Edward Olleson, "Gottfried Van Swieten: Patron of Mozart and Haydn," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 89th Session (1962-1963): 63-74; Tia DeNora, *Beethoven and the Construction of Genius* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997).

obedient civil servants.⁴⁵ However, van Swieten's educational reforms were daring enough to meet with stern opposition most vocally, but by no means exclusively, from his colleague and rival Karl Anton von Martini, who had headed the revisions to the education system under Maria Theresa and who would be reinstated by Leopold II in 1790.⁴⁶ In a sarcastic dismissal of van Swieten's reforms, Martini's ally Hofrath Birkenstock unwittingly pointed out the most advanced, forward-looking and to this day influential elements of van Swieten's ideas:

... one thought that one could never do enough; that's why the schools ... were established even for those social classes destined for the most lowly and physical work, and the curriculum entailed things that far exceeded the normal activities of these people and their circumstances. ... no doubt, within our empire more people than ever read, write, calculate and reason over the rights and duties than ever before. In the smaller towns they also have knowledge of geography, history, constitutional laws and *the art of talking in manners that give the right direction to reason, and enlighten the spirit in its powers of thought.*⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Rudolf Kink, *Geschichte der Kaiserlichen Universität Wien* (Wien, 1854); Cölestin Wolfsgruber, *Christoph Anton Kardinal Migazzi, Fürsterzbischof von Wien* (Saulgau, 1891).

⁴⁶ Joseph II himself was sceptical about van Swieten's reforms and brought allegations of nepotism against him in a case revolving around professorial appointments at the university in Vienna. The emperor thwarted the appointment of a second professor for "Naturgeschichte" on financial grounds, whilst also accusing van Swieten of trying to install his lodge brothers. The latter concern certainly contributed to Joseph II's reservations about the appointment, as he felt the threat from enlightened thinking cultivated in the Masonic lodges.

⁴⁷ Eingabe Birkenstocks. 4.2.1793. Kaiser-Franz-Akten, Kart.157 (alt F.161, Konv.1), No.24. quoted from Ernst Wangermann, *Aufklärung und staatsbürgerliche Erziehung: Gottfried van Swieten als Reformator des österreichischen Unterrichtswesens 1781-1791* (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1978), 16: "... man glaubte des Guten nicht zu viel thun zu können; daher wurden (die Schulen) ... so weit als möglich bis unter die geringsten zu den beschwerlichsten Arbeiten bestimmten Klassen verbreitet, und der Unterricht über Gegenstände getrieben, die den gewöhnlichen Wirkungskreis dieser Menschen und ihrer Verhältnisse überstiegen. ... ohne Zweifel lesen, schreiben, rechnen und raisonnieren über die Rechte und Pflichten der Menschen in den Erblanden viel mehr Einwohner als vormals. In den kleinen Städten, kommen noch (hinzu) Kenntnisse von Geographie, Geschichte, Staatsverfassungen und *die Kunst, aus Gründen zu sprechen, um, wie es heißt, dem*

Van Swieten's reforms were based on the idea that each citizen is educated to understand his or her moral and social pretexts for action rather than simply learning the actions themselves.⁴⁸ Uniting his system from the universities down to the country schools, van Swieten promoted an education of integration that created citizens rather than individuals. Like Sonnenfels, he believed that "Geselligkeit" (sociability) and "Vergesellschaftung" (becoming a member of society) are the natural human state but, unlike Sonnenfels, he did not equate society with the state outright. Rather, it was the purpose of the education system to lead each individual into the recognition of their citizen status as the driving, as well as rewarding, force of their actions.

Van Swieten devised a curriculum based on three main subjects which, he claimed, aid the development of morality as the communal codification of man's natural disposition towards "Vergesellschaftung." He saw the natural spirit of communality encoded in a set of feelings and behaviours – morals – that form the foundation for actions. Although these patterns of sentiment and action, according to van

Kopf die gehörige Richtung zu geben, und den Geist in seiner Denkkraft aufzuklären." Italics mine.

⁴⁸ It is noteworthy that van Swieten included women in his reforms as he recognised women's seminal role within education; see Gottfried van Swieten, *Vortrag der Studienhofkommission*, 18.8.1784. Allg. Verwaltungsarchiv, Studienhofkommission, F.63, 154 ex 1784; quoted from Ernst Wangermann, "Das Bildungsideal Gottfried Van Swietens," *Conference Proceedings Gerhard Freiherr van Swieten und seine Zeit*, Wien, 8-10. Mai 1972 (Wien: Verlag Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfl. 1972), 176-77: "Da es bekannt ist, wie lange jedes Kind ... in den Händen der Mutter bleibt, und wie ganz die erste Bildung und Grundlegung der künftigen Begriffe von denjenigen Eindrücken abhängen, welche die ersten Erzählungen und Unterrichte der Mütter und Kinderwärter immer bei Bauern, Bürgern und adelichen auf das junge Gemüth des Kindes machen... so darf es keinen Beweises, wie viel dem Staate daran gelegen seyn muß, auch das weibliche Geschlecht auszubilden, das auf die Erziehung aller Kinder einen so lange dauernden ... und doch einen so unvermeidlichen Einfluß habe."

Swieten, are a priori human potentials, they are nurtured best through the teaching of "Nature," "Aesthetics" and "History."

At the heart of the teaching of "Nature" (*Allgemeine Naturgeschichte*) are the tools needed to use knowledge correctly, as he described them metaphorically in his 1783 lecture "Entwurf über das philosophische Lehrfach."⁴⁹ Van Swieten suggested that this course of study has to precede all further studies as it develops the proper methodologies for accessing and processing knowledge which, once learned, can be applied to a variety of things. The subject comprises three principal approaches: firstly, natural theology describes the order of the world according to God's will; secondly, philosophical morality deals with the foundation of man's innate morals (such as the natural disposition towards society), unearthing them and rationalising them. Thirdly, physics and mathematics are taught to counteract superstition with rational explanation rooted in the observation of nature. All three combine to facilitate the formation of free judgements in each individual.

⁴⁹ Intriguingly, van Swieten described the study of philosophy in terms used by his contemporaries to describe the sublime. The study itself becomes the towering mountain and its student painstakingly weaves his way through harrowingly narrow and dark valleys to reach vast green expanses when he least expects them. The sublime meadows prove to be the Herderian more than the Kantian sublime as they offer a unique vantage point, from which the wanderer can now review his route and recognise it as the shortest, safest and only permissible one. Whereas Kant discovered the sublime in those things that stand beyond our ability to grasp them, Herder – like van Swieten here – defined the sublime as the very moment of overcoming a hurdle, the moment of awakening and recognition. For Herder, therefore, the sublime is a sub-category of the beautiful, which it is man's duty to learn to recognise in each and every shape, form and system surrounding him. This idealistic view of the act of recognition as the key to all things was shared by van Swieten. I will discuss this further in Chapter III.

In the second stage of study, the methodologies acquired through "Allgemeine Naturgeschichte" are complemented by the study of history and aesthetics. It is significant that van Swieten defined the study of history and aesthetics as the study of models of experience, not of facts:

History must contain the study of all times and all peoples; it must not be seen as a mere collection of events, ... but as the sister to all sciences, as the study of humanity, a school of life, of wisdom and of moral values; the study of history must ascend to the high position of consideration, deliberation and wisdom.⁵⁰

Van Swieten saw history as neither chronicle, nor teleological process, but as a quasi-mythological story collection that serves the purpose of teaching experience.⁵¹ Van Swieten placed history alongside the scriptures as texts subject to exegesis. His instructions on the study of history illustrate most clearly his departure from dogmatic to empirical learning, incorporating the divine into man's understanding of self. Objecting to the idea of original sin, and perceiving of man instead as the crowning glory of creation, van Swieten rejected mercy as the means to redemption. Rather, man is enabled to steer his path towards salvation through exercising his naturally given faculty of reason. It is man's duty to make use of reason to access facts as experiences:

It is certain, that experiences alone present a secure basis and enduring material for speculative knowledge, that without experiences all those abstract concepts are nothing but fruitless

⁵⁰ Van Swieten, *Vortrag der Studienhofkommission*, 1784, quoted from Wangermann, "Das Bildungsideal," 178: "Die Geschichte muß sich über alle Zeiten, über alle Völker erstrecken, und wird hier nicht als eine blosse Sammlung der Weltbegebenheiten, ... sondern als die Gefährtin aller Wissenschaften, als ein Studium der Menschheit, eine Schule des Lebens, der Klugheit, und der Sitten angesehen; sie soll... zum hohen Rang des Nachdenkens und der Weisheit hinaufsteigen."

⁵¹ This runs contrary to the emerging historiographies of Herder and Humboldt.

fantasies, which narrow the mind, throw it off kilter, leave it demented.⁵²

Reason acts on both rationality and on man's senses and soul. Man is only governed by its results if these two are properly combined, i.e. if he is *convinced*. To exercise the senses alongside rationality, van Swieten proposed the study of aesthetics, since beauty affects both the senses and the heart. In a defence of his programme in August 1791, van Swieten explained that the core of aesthetics lies in our feelings and passions as well as in a vivid sensation of the true and the good. Aesthetics guide both physical action and the activities of the mind along the chosen path, whilst exercising the imagination, developing the knowledge of mental dispositions and, even more so, planting the proper inclinations and thereby spreading them. Aesthetics, according to van Swieten, elevate the moral values of man and make him well-disposed towards his duties in society. These not simply fortunate, but essential effects of the study of aesthetics, in addition to the pleasure that beautiful things inspire in everyone, suffice to make the study of the arts irreplaceable for men of all ranks and professions.

If you consider all these effects as well as the means that brought them forth, which are the fine arts with their irresistible stimulations, you will understand, why the philosophy teachers in Prague ... agreed unanimously that aesthetics and writings on aesthetics must be part of any teaching plan that can grant an

⁵² Gottfried van Swieten, *Vortrag van Swietens*, 15.8.1791, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Studienhofkommission, F.106, 298 ex 1791, quoted from Wangermann, "Das Bildungsideal", 180: "Gewiß ist, daß Erfahrungen allein sicheren Grund und dauerhafte Materialien für speculative Kenntnisse geben, daß ohne jene die abstrakten Begriffe nichts als unfruchtbare Hirngespinnste sind, die den Kopf nur verengen, verschieben und irre machen, dass gleichwie die Naturgeschichte für die Physik und derselben zweige die nöthigen Erfahrungen sammelt, sie die Weltgeschichte mit eben der Sorgfalt aufnimmt und allen übrigen Wissenschaften darbiethet."

education of reason and sentiment, which is universally useful, purposeful and indispensable for all types of profession and social rank.⁵³

The choice of van Swieten's subjects revealed his enlightened prerogatives for the education of the individual. More so, van Swieten's daring move to place experience and process at the forefront of education introduced a new slant that emancipated society as a whole to be actively involved in its formation as an enlightened and *gebildet* state. It was in this move that van Swieten departed from Sonnenfels' plans for state formation, and it was this move that delivered him to the knives of his opponents as the following example illustrates.

Within his strategies to revise the university system van Swieten suggested the abolition of set texts for university study. Considering all existing texts unsuitable for his new programme of education, van Swieten planned to shift the prescription of teaching texts from the government committee to the university professors, ultimately with a view to approving new texts as guidelines for future teaching. This would encourage consideration, deliberation and reflection as the basis for understanding. Further, van Swieten promoted free lecturing followed by reactions and questions from the floor, after which the students would write their own memoranda – a teaching method that

⁵³ Van Swieten, *Vortrag van Swietens*, 1791, quoted from Wangermann, "Das Bildungsideal," 179: "wenn man alle diese Wirkungen erwäget, und zugleich die Mittel wodurch sie hervorgebracht werden, die schönen Künste mit ihren unwiderstehlichen Reizen sich vorstellt, so begreift man gar wohl, warum die philosophischen Lehrer von Prag ... einstimmig geäußert haben, dass die Aesthetik und die aesthetische Literatur zu denjenigen Lehrgegenständen gehören, welche ... eine allgemein nützliche, bey allen Berufsarten und Standesverhältnissen gleich brauchbare, gleich unentberliche Bildung des Verstandes und Herzens gewähren..."

van Swieten's opponents deemed untenable.⁵⁴ But van Swieten considered the individual creation of texts essential:

The student will affirm his desire for knowledge and his diligence through recording the contents of his lessons posthumously. Here he can probe his own faculties of understanding; it impresses the lesson onto him because it demands a variety of his faculties at once.⁵⁵

Van Swieten's belief in the natural disposition towards common goals, not individual goals, permitted him to liberate teaching from censorship, because he believed that ultimately the common good would be plausible to everyone. In order to achieve this plausibility in each individual, teaching had to be adjusted to take into account a person's natural disposition, and demands had to be made on each individual's reason, body and soul accordingly. More on a par with Sonnenfels, van Swieten's opponents proposed that the teacher himself is an individual in the process of learning and must therefore only be the spokesperson for the state. Teaching must be prescribed in pre-set texts. In van Swieten's eyes, however, the only true obedience was based on a deep-rooted conviction of the justness of laws and of their purpose towards the common good.

Van Swieten's entire system had to falter over this discrepancy, because his teaching relied on the very experience of learning, i.e. the combination of sensual perception and rational mediation. Obstructing

⁵⁴ Wangermann, "Aufklärung," 82.

⁵⁵ Van Swieten, *Vortrag van Swietens*, 1791, quoted from Wangermann, "Aufklärung," 82: "Das Aufzeichnen des Unterrichts in und außer dem Hörsale ist jederzeit bey dem Schüler das sicherste Merkmal seiner Wissbegierde und seines Fleißes, der beste Probestein von der Eigenschaft und der Anwendung seiner Geisteskräfte, das wirksamste Mittel, den Eindruck der Lehre durch mehrere Sinnen und mit gewechselter Aufmerksamkeit deutlich und dauerhaft zu machen."

this vital link between sensation and understanding would negate the possibility of a truly enlightened citizen, one who could feel, see and understand the coincidence between the individual good and the common good. Van Swieten aimed to clarify the purpose of knowledge and to make it felt through its effects on life. For van Swieten understanding was the physical sensation of knowledge through experiencing its reason and rationale. His teaching system, therefore, sought to present tools without presenting the outcome; it assumed that the outcome was predetermined, because it was natural to man. Van Swieten replaced the traditional learning method of memorising with processing and presenting. Following Northern German ideals, he promoted teaching through examples and practice exercises. Prescriptive rules and stupefying repetition were replaced by inductive texts following the Socratic dialogue model.⁵⁶

As such, van Swieten equated education firstly with action. He demanded that its methods must be inductive, and that its goal be to empower the individual by developing his awareness of both his sensations and reason.⁵⁷ Secondly, van Swieten equated education with interaction, i.e. dialogue in multiple guises. *Bildung*, the continuous act of education, was therefore the threefold process of thinking, critique and knowledge (*Erkenntnis*). Whereas stage one is

⁵⁶ A general interest in the Socratic method during the eighteenth century is documented in Carol Sherman, *Diderot and the Art of Dialogue* (Geneva: Droz, 1976); Raymond A. Anselment, "Socrates and the Clouds: Shaftesbury and a Socratic Tradition," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 39/2 (Apr. - Jun., 1978): 171-182; Michael Morton, *Herder and the Poetics of Thought* (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1989).

⁵⁷ Gottfried van Swieten, *Entwurf für das philosophische Lehrfach*, 1784, Studienhofkommission, F.13, 152 ex 1784, quoted from Wangermann, "Aufklärung", 69: "die erste Hand muß an die Bildung des Herzens und des Verstandes gelegt sein."

necessarily solitary, van Swieten demanded stage two to be interactive in order to reach a valuable result in stage three. Van Swieten considered the latter to be innately communal in accordance with man's natural disposition towards society.

4. The Communal Negotiation of Reason with Sensuality

Van Swieten lived in a Vienna that was exemplary for its multitude of arts that were made tangible and thereby served educational purposes in exactly the manner van Swieten himself promoted. A large spectrum of galleries, displaying all and sundry from natural history to anatomical effigies to painting and sculpture, was open to the public to visit and experience the pleasures of art.⁵⁸ Following Joseph II's example, numerous aristocrats opened their doors to the public several days a week and visits to their galleries became not only a favourite pastime of the Viennese, but also fodder for conversation, as Joseph Carl Rosenbaum explained in reference to one of Vienna's more gruesome exhibits:

I particularly liked Angelo Soliman, who stood taxidermied beside a little Moorish girl of 8 years... the tiny colibris, the birds of paradise,... so many beautiful things to be discovered are housed here that one could divert oneself in interesting ways for weeks.⁵⁹

These displays combined art, entertainment and instruction as they functioned at once as aesthetic objects, models of history, mythology or

⁵⁸ Ignaz de Luca, *Topographie von Wien* (Wien, 1794), I: 389-393.

⁵⁹ Rosenbaum, "Tagebücher," *Haydn Jahrbuch* (1968), 53: "Besonders gefielen mir der Angelo Soliman, der da ausgestopft neben einem Mohren Mädchen von 8 Jahren steht ... die kleinen Colibri, die Paradies Vögel... es ist so viel Schönes darin, dass man sich wochenlang sehr interessant unterhalten könnte." see also Fischer, *Reisen*, 396.

– as in Soliman's case – biology, whilst also creating a pleasurable scintillation.

But culture also became a vital economic branch of the city as numerous art dealers (*Kunsthandlungen*) mushroomed across the city offering engravings, maps, paintings and, crucially, sheet music. Both the education of the individual and the *Bildung* of Viennese society were reflected in the rise of the musical dilettante, to whom the city's music merchants catered. In fact, music assumed a prominent status within the education of the city's nobility and bourgeoisie. In a woman's education, playing a musical instrument was rated higher than the serious study of more traditional subjects:

a little French, possibly a few galant pieces on the pianoforte, and in religion as much as is necessary. ... If she has also read a few of the latest novels, alas, the lady has reached completion. Geography, history, morals and other such subjects are of no concern in the education of a girl; rather, it is seen to that she can play cards and is proficient in the art of dancing.⁶⁰

Fischer praised music as a vehicle that elevates our sensitive abilities to intuit before we understand:

We can only ever speak of music figuratively, because no one can properly name the intimate effects of this innermost, living, captivating art. That's why the comparison between a poet and a composer is all the more fitting, because the final aim of both is the effect they have on our feeling for beauty, to which the feelings of being touched and entertained are subordinated.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Fischer, *Reisen*, 133.

⁶¹ Fischer, *Reisen*, 215: "Wir können von der Musik immer nur figürlich sprechen, denn das Innere, Lebende, Ergreifende dieser Kunst kann Niemand mit der ihm eigenen Wirkung nennen. Daher wird ein Vergleich zwischen einem Dichter und Tonsetzer um so passender seyn, als beyder letzter Zweck die Wirkung auf unser Schönheitsgefühl seyn wird, dem die Rührung und Erheiterung immer untergeordnet bleiben muß."

The sensations that music invokes exceed by far a mere tickle of fashionable *Empfindsamkeit* or a diverting pastime, and in Vienna – so Fischer claimed – the right feeling for these powers of music was cultivated to a level beyond any other European city:

Music might receive its utmost cultivation and enjoyment in Vienna. It is an essential part of an enlightened education, and every lady must learn to play the piano, every boy the violin or flute. Almost nowhere have I noticed such a good feeling for music as in Vienna.⁶²

In Vienna, being able to participate in music-making became a social decorum on a par with knowing how to engage in polite conversation. More pressingly, music exercised interactive skills on an abstract, yet advanced level. Here, sensuality, emotion and reason were engaged in a communal experience that became the yardstick by which to measure the socially versed Viennese. Fischer must in fact have been conflicted by his experiences of Vienna, for here *Bildung* was defined less by the knowledge of a common canon of literature, painting and other works of art, than by the communal exegesis of artefacts. If the level of *Bildung* resides in the method and process of coming to an understanding rather than in the final product, (the understanding of a pre-given meaning of works of art), Fischer's conundrum is easily explained. Facility in playing the violin, flute or

⁶² Fischer, *Reisen*, 213: "Die Musik wird in Wien vielleicht am meisten in der Welt kultiviert, und aufgemuntert. Sie ist ein nothwendiger Bestandtheil einer gebildeten Erziehung, und jedes Fräulein muß Klavier, jeder Knabe die Violine oder Flöte spielen lernen. Auch habe ich bey nahe nirgends ein so richtiges Gefühl für die Musik bemerkt als in Wien. Wie das nun kömmt, eines giebt dem anderen die Hand. Weil die Musik hier so geschätzt ist, den Eintritt in alle Häuser öffnet, und überhaupt die vortheilhaftesten Aussichten darbietet, so verlegen sich mehrere junge Leute fleißig darauf, und werden mit der Zeit sehr brave Dilettanten."

pianoforte became the pre-requisite for entry into the *Bildung* of a society, rather than being an avenue to the *Bildung* of the individual man or woman.

In fact music, more than any other art, must have been an obvious favourite within the *Bildungs*- ideologies outlined by van Swieten, because music had to be actively cultivated. Music more than literature, painting and even the theatre offered a medium for producing culture together on a regular basis. It is not surprising, therefore, that chamber music featured as a regular amusement in the city palaces of the nobility and the grand city houses of the upper middle classes. Van Swieten's own private academy, held regularly on Sunday mornings, was amongst the many venues for cultivating chamber music, and his - perhaps more than any other - bore the mark of valuing the active engagement with music as the only means to access its meaning. For van Swieten made the Viennese familiar with the ancient compositions of J.S.Bach and G.F. Handel by encouraging a number of arrangements of their music for the chamber.⁶³ His salon was devoted particularly to instrumental chamber music, yet many others came together to cultivate vocal and instrumental music side by side. In his *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst für Wien und Prag 1796*, Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld introduced the most important musical academies as taking place at the houses of Count Apony, Count von Ballassa, Baroness von Buffendorf, Count Franz Esterhazy, Court Councillor von Greiner, Mr. von Henikstein, Miss von Martines, Court Councillor Baron von Bayern, Court

⁶³ The specific function of these arrangements will be explained in Chapter IV.

Councillor von Meyer, Baron van Swieten and Baroness von Zois.⁶⁴

Some of these get-togethers had specific emphases: Count Apony liked to show-case violinists, whereas Councillor Greiner and Baron von Bayern both invited their guests to string chamber music gatherings, generically called "Quartetten," although references to the music played reach far wider than the string quartet repertoire. At Herr von Henikstein's, Henikstein junior held weekly musical get-togethers consisting only of the players, and throughout the year various houses held gatherings for singing.

Schönfeld provided detailed accounts of ca. two hundred dilettantes who attended these musical salons regularly. His miniature portraits of each individual player offer windows onto the large scene of Vienna's social music-making and participatory chamber music. Besides obvious musical patrons who were themselves players, such as Count Apony who was "a great lover of music who played the violin very well, but whose true credits lie with his intense love for art that inspires his patronage of music,"⁶⁵ Schönfeld lists a number of dilettantes who were exceptional concerto players. These included Mademoiselle Bayer on the violin: she had a pleasant bow stroke and played concertos as well as sonatas with taste and dexterity. Herr Buchhammer could double on violin and cello, Herr Demuth participated with the violin and Herr Dienst with viola and cello; Fräulein von Dornfelt played the violin decently - "ganz artig," whereas

⁶⁴ Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch Der Tonkunst Von Wien Und Prag*. 1796, ed. Otto Biba. (München und Salzburg: Musikverlag Emil Katznbichler, 1976), § Virtuosen und Dilettanten von Wien, 3-68; § Dilettantenakademien, 69-74.

⁶⁵ Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch*, 3: "ein großer Musikliebhaber, welcher die Violine sehr gut spielte, vorzüglich aber wegen seiner wahren Kunstliebe viel für die Musik thut."

Herr Duran was a dexterous concerto player; Herr Eppinger was praised as one of the foremost dilettante violinists particularly in concertos and quartets, whereas notary Flamm's talents seem to have been rather more modest: he dabbled in all sorts of instruments, but particularly the viola. Whether Prince (Lichnowsky), Baron (Münich), finance minister (Hauschka), medic (Kopey), civil servant for industry and finance (Kuffner), or police officer (Löwenau), they all played the violin, viola or cello and each one had a specific reputation concerning his or her qualifications for musical academies.

Schönfeld's Jahrbuch reads like an order catalogue for the organiser of the next concert or musical soiree. Kapellmeisters, opera directors, instrumental virtuosi, orchestral players and dilettantes are subsumed without distinction into his list of active musicians in Vienna. His sketch of Vienna's musical scene comes alive through numerous references found in letters and diaries of participants and visitors to these myriad musical gatherings. Yet, whereas instruments and players are mentioned throughout these accounts, they yield strikingly little information on the actual repertoire played at these get-togethers. In comparison with the city's public concert culture, the private academies lack precise documentation. Mary Sue Morrow's thorough collation of documents pertaining to both public and private Viennese concerts, gathered from periodicals, diaries and letters, illustrates the marked dearth of information on the pieces performed with composers named in only fifteen instances between 1780 and 1790s. In comparison, she found performers' names in about half of

the references and all of them provided the general setting and the nature of the musical gathering itself.⁶⁶

Instead of yearning for more precise information on the pieces played at these gatherings I contend that it is precisely this seeming lack of information that offers insight into the meaning and value of chamber music in late eighteenth-century Vienna. Consider for a moment the observations on a visit to Vienna recorded by the Cologne lawyer J.B.Fuchs. He reported in 1779:

On January 12th (my acquaintance Mme Marchaud) introduced me at Mme von Hochsteden's. Her husband was a minister; they were hosting a grand concert. Mme von Arenstein played the piano to great delight and Mlle Weberin enchanted with her singing. On February 17th I had the chance to admire Tueski's violin playing and Weber's singing here. ... Frequently, I was invited by Mme v.M. to attend beautiful concerts given by the virtuosi of the Bavarian-palatinate court at her house in her honour, in which she often sang the most beautiful solos herself. Once, on February 28th 1780 I received such an invitation. From amongst the numerous guests of the house I was introduced to the palatinate chamber music director Tueski, the great composer Becke, and Mlle Hartenstein as the main artists who would lend the imminent concert a rare shine; indeed, the concert exceeded everyone's expectations. Tueski played two quatuors on the violin and a duet on the viola d'amour. Only if one had lost all pure feeling for art, and had lost all emotions as well, could one remain unmoved by Tueski's melodic tones, particularly in the Adagio. ...Becke performed a piece of his own composition, which comprised the most sublime thoughts. But now Mlle von Hartenstein moved towards the piano, a maiden young and beautiful betraying an excellent education. She found the most difficult concerto by Haydn lying in front of her. The

⁶⁶ see Mary Sue Morrow, *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna: Aspects of a Developing Musical and Social Institution* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1989), 365; see also Dexter Edge, "Review of M.S. Morrow: *Concert Life in Haydn's Vienna*," *Haydn Yearbook* 17 (1992): 108-67; Dorothea Link, *The National Court Theatre in Mozart's Vienna* (Oxford, N.Y., U.S.A.: Clarendon Press, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); D. Link, "Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783-92, as reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf," *RMA* 122/2 (1997): 205-57.

first chords, the prelude already raised the highest hopes of a rare artistic delight; but when Tieschi joined her with his violin in order to accompany her playing, and the concerto began, everyone was swept away with enthusiasm. She played with such dexterity, taste and sensitivity that even Tieschi, who followed her flying fingers with his eyes could not admire enough her rapidity and almost forgot his own duties. On demand from her audience she also played a Trio by Vanhal and a sonata by Haydn.⁶⁷

At both of these private concerts, invited virtuosi performed alongside the hosts themselves. The young Fanny Arnstein, who had moved to Vienna three years previously and had married into one of Vienna's principal banking families, appeared as a pianist next to the soprano Aloisia Weber, who had just secured a position at the Nationaltheater in Vienna. The famous violinist Tieschi played in the same concert in

⁶⁷ Fuchs, *Erinnerungen*, 109-110: "So führte sie mich am 12. Januar bei Frau v. Hochsteden, deren Mann Minister war, auf; hier war ein großes Konzert. Eine Frau v. Arnstein schlug zum Entzücken Klavier, und Mlle Weberin bezauberte mit ihrem Gesang. Am 17. Februar hatte ich daselbst Gelegenheit, Tieschis Violinspiel und Webers Gesang zu bewundern. ... Auch wurde ich sehr oft von Frau v. M. eingeladen, um schönen Konzerten beizuwohnen, welche die vom pfälzbayerischen hofe zugewiesenen Virtuosen ihr zu Ehren in ihrem hause gaben, wobei sie oft selbst die schönsten Solos sang. Einmal, es war am 28. Februar 1780, erhielt ich eine solche Einladung. Unter den zahlreich anwesenden Hausfreunden und Fremden wurden mir der kurpfälzische Kammermusikus Direktor Tieski, der große Komponist Becke, und die Fräulein Hartenstein, als die Haupttonkünstler vorgestellt, die dem anzuhebenden Konzert einen seltenen Glanz geben würden; und wirklich übertraf das Gefolge aller Anwesenden Erwartung. Tieski geigte zwei Quatuor auf der Violine und ein Duett auf der Violine d'amour. Man müsste alles reine Gefühl für Kunst, gar alle Empfindung verloren haben, wenn man bei Tieschis melodischen Tönen, besonders im Adagio, ungerührt geblieben wäre. ... Kreishauptmann Becke führte ein Stück seiner eigenen Komposition auf, das die erhabensten Gedanken umfasste. Aber nun trat Fräulein v. Hartenstein ans Klavier, ein Mädchen jung und schön und die in allem einen musterhafte Erziehung verriet. Sie fand das damals schwerste Konzert des berühmten Haydn vor sich liegen. Schon ihre ersten Akkorde, die Präludiengriffe, machten sehr große Hoffnung zu einem seltenen Kunstgenuß rege; als nun aber Tieski mit der Violine an ihre Seite sich stellte, um ihr Spiel zu begleiten und nun ihr Konzert begann, da wurde jeder begeistert hingerissen. Sie schlug mit solcher Fertigkeit, Geschmack und Empfindung, dass selbst Tieski, der ihre fliehenden Finger mit dem Auge verfolgte und solche Geschwindigkeit nicht genug bewundern konnte, fast sein Amt vergessen hätte. Auf Ersuchen der Gesellschaft schlug sie noch ein Trio von Vanhal und eine Sonate von Haydn. Überhaupt waren alle drei Klavieraufgaben von einer ganz neuen sinnreichen Komposition."

which Madame Marchaud herself sang. The captain Becke was noted as an illustrious composer and performer, but the laurels went to Fräulein von Hartenstein, who performed a Haydn concerto, a Vanhal Trio and a Haydn sonata on the piano. Evidently, the participants of this musical gathering belonged to a variety of social classes. The ennobled played alongside the bourgeois, the wives of ministers socialized with men of military rank. Equally, the musical classes were mixed here: local heroes appeared alongside international virtuosi and musical amateurs, a fact that a reporter for the *Vaterländische Blätter für den Österreichischen Kaiserstaat* idealised in a report of 1808:

Here, the art of music performs that miracle daily, which we have so far only ascribed to love: it makes all people equal. Nobility and bourgeoisie, counts and vassals, people in charge and their subjects sit together at one desk and forget the disharmony of their standing over the harmony of their notes.⁶⁸

Further, the performances themselves receive far greater attention in this report than individual compositions do. What is more, rather than describing the performances directly, Fuchs discussed their effects on the listener; instead of attributing adjectives like "enchanted" and "delightful" to the sounding result, Fuchs *activated* himself and his fellow listeners: Frau von Arentstein's performance was "to our delight," while Aloysia Weber bewitched us; Fräulein von Hartenstein with her first chords already "inspired the highest hopes

⁶⁸ Gustav Gugnitz, ed. *Reichardts vertraute Briefe geschrieben auf einer Reise nach Wien und den Österreichischen Staaten zu Ende des Jahres 1808 und zu Anfang 1809*, 2 vols., (München: Müller, 1915), I: XI: "Die Tonkunst wirkt hier täglich das Wunder, das man sonst nur der Liebe zuschrieb: Sie macht alle Stände gleich. Adelige und Bürgerliche, Fürsten und ihre Vasallen, Vorgesetzte und ihre Untergebenen, sitzen an einem Pulte beisammen und vergessen über der Harmonie der Töne die Disharmonie ihres Standes."

that we might expect an artistic pleasure of the highest order" and when joining forces with Toeschi, it isn't simply that she played compellingly, but every single person was swept away with enthusiasm. Rather than describing a performance, Fuchs reported its effect *on* the listeners. The few compositions that are "specified" remain unspecific: the hardest of Haydn's concerti, a trio by Vanhal and a sonata by Haydn, besides a clavier composition by Becke. With regard to the latter, the composition is merely mentioned because he performs his own piece thereby fulfilling the common contemporary assumption that a famous performer would almost always perform at least one of his own compositions. With regard to Haydn's concerto, its specification shifts the importance back to the performer: what matters here is less the nature of the concerto, but the fact that Mme von Hartenstein could perform the most taxing in piano compositions. Whereas her performance was praised for its dexterity, taste and sensibility, the compositions themselves – described as assignments for the piano, "Klavieraufgaben" – are merely subsumed under the description "new and rich in sense". Becke's composition is characterised as conveying "the most sublime thoughts," yet more detailed description is lacking.⁶⁹

The preponderance of attention given to performance rather than composition appears to be typical of the eighteenth-century reports of

⁶⁹ Detailed descriptions of the compositional make-up become customary in Northern German music journals such as the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* a mere twenty years later. At the same time they crop up increasingly in private accounts of concerts as well. See Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism*, 1997. The shift from a performance-based discussion of music to a composition-based one betrays a change in the conception of the musical work, discussed f.ex. in Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford: OUP, 1992).

private concerts found partly in journals and to a larger degree in private correspondence. It rather suggests that music here was experienced, appreciated and evaluated in the moment. The immediate experience of listening or playing and the emotions stirred by these activities lent meaning to music, i.e. to compositions. Music therefore was a social art: its empirical meaning exceeded any rational attributes that may be attached to compositional constructions as artefacts. Within the Viennese context outlined above, its significance resided more than anything in its social meaning. What is more, this social meaning did not reflect the frivolity of simple entertainment, but it was instead constructed and nurtured by enlightenment ideals on education and nation formation.

Fuchs' account contains two more hints that support the notion that music was valued through its momentary guise and presentation. First we can deduce that Mlle von Hartenstein performed Haydn's composition in an at once extended and reduced version: she prefaced the piece with a prelude before Toeschi joined her with his accompaniment. Such preluding was standard practice and served to showcase the performer. Bearing in mind notions of a composer's "Urtext" and "Fassung letzter Hand" prominent in Mozart and Haydn scholarship throughout much of the twentieth century, accounts of this type of performance must provoke interpretations of music that break down the still prominent borders between composition and performance.⁷⁰ Further, Fuchs' account is unspecific with regards to

⁷⁰ A survey of the difficulty in truly breaking these boundaries see Nicholas Cook, "Music as Performance," in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, ed.

the number of players accompanying Mlle von Hartenstein's performance. These could have ranged from Toeschi alone to a quartet (the largest group of players mentioned in the report), but it is unlikely that a whole orchestra was present to accompany her concerto.⁷¹ If we accept the notion that the concerto was a vehicle for the performer to impress the audience and stir their emotions, it is only to be expected that the precise make-up of the accompaniment was not pressing and Mlle von Hartenstein's performance might well have included only Toeschi on the accompaniment. Such a "reduction" did not affect the meaning of the music.⁷²

Secondly, Fuchs' report gives insight into the informal concert setting, in which performers seem to have stepped forward from the ranks of the audience. Upon the demand of the listeners a performer may continue by playing further pieces and the official part of the concert is followed by musical merry-making: here, the host, swept into a general mood for musical forays, encouraged her guests to sing arias by coyly condescending to offer a few herself:

The actual concert was now concluded, but Mme von Marchaud was so enraptured by the tone of the delightful evening that she encouraged the present lovers of music to sing a few arias. One was happy to concede to her wishes especially because she set forth with a beautiful examples herself.⁷³

Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 204-214.

⁷¹ Given the status of the violinist Toeschi and the praise he receives in this report, it seems unlikely to me that the concerto referred to as a piano concerto would have been the concerto for violin and harpsichord in F, Hob. XVIII:6. I propose, therefore, that Toeschi was not playing a solo part, but was providing an accompaniment.

⁷² In Chapter IV I will discuss the meaning of the numerous published arrangements of large scale music for the chamber in the late eighteenth century.

⁷³ Fuchs, *Erinnerungen*, 110: "Das eigentliche Konzert war nun zu Ende, aber die Frau von Marchaud war von dem vergnügten Abend noch so entzückt, dass sie die

Here, the boundaries between formal concert and spontaneous music-making are blurred. To add to the impression that experience is ranked higher than "perfect" composition, Fuchs suggests in his account of this musical soiree that the performer's powers may be stronger than the composer's, and even that a dilettante performer's earnest renditions may stir the strongest emotions: Mme von Marchaud's manner of singing, her expression in describing in song the *Flucht der Lalage* inspired one visitor to a poem that conjures the true expression of her music better than "the most apt description of the profane."⁷⁴

If we combine a detailed reading of contemporary reports with the clues given by the missing details, i.e. by the details that were not considered noteworthy, we come to two conclusions: firstly, players and audience largely coincided; secondly, the event itself, i.e. the momentous experience and not its textual preservation, accounted for the value and meaning of the gathering. Music in the salons, it seems, was characterised by the purpose of doing something together, of actively engaging in a communal experience. Beyond entertainment, this act of playing together reveals a higher social significance if it is ordered into the context of ideologies of *Bildung* - meaning literally self-, group- and ultimately nation-formation - pertinent in late eighteenth-century Vienna. This consideration lends a deeper significance to a statement commonly found in late eighteenth-century accounts of musical events exemplified here by Fuchs' closing statement:

Musikliebhaber aufforderte, einige Haus-Arien zu singen. Man willfahrte gern ihrem freundlichen Gesuche, besonders wo sie selbst mit dem schönsten Beispiele voranging."

⁷⁴ Fuchs, *Erinnerungen*, 110: "eine noch so geratene Beschreibung eines Profanen."

A young man in search of *Bildung* could hardly spend a spare evening in a more educating, pleasurable and entertaining manner.⁷⁵

In late eighteenth-century Vienna, experiencing and discovering music communally, and deriving a common methodology from it that in itself comprised a common *Bildung*, was part of a larger social movement. It found its equivalents in other forms of art that became means of entertainment. Game playing, conversation, domestic theatre and the reading of literary reviews in the new-fangled, modish journals found in every fashionable household – all of these were united by one particular aim: that of social education. We can trace throughout these the idea that the act of experiencing was the most vital aspect of these arts and entertainments. Further, in all of them art and entertainment were commingled, on the grounds that the pleasurable feeling of entertainment could aid the impression of art. Fuchs' report bears witness to the multitude of activities that the Viennese engaged in as enjoyable pastime, which were, however, increasingly modelled with educational purposes in mind. Music was an important element within a setting that enacted a careful balance between entertainment and learning. I contend that rather than providing mere divertissement, music played an active part in *Bildung* as Sonnenfels defined it. Music was a social practice that allowed each participant to enact both individualisation and social spirit within the group.

⁷⁵ Fuchs, *Erinnerungen*, 111: "Lehrreicher, angenehmer und froher lässt sich doch wohl ein freier Abend von einem jungen Mann, der Bildung sucht, nicht zubringen."

Chapter II – Instrumental Music and the Performance of Dialogue

1. Advertising Music for the Domestic Market: Text and Action

The Viennese newspapers from the 1780s document the swift development of a new business: advertisements for commercially published music were dotted around the dailies and weeklies, reflecting vital changes in the musical life of the city. In 1778, the publishing house of Artaria was the first to advertise engraved music on a regular basis, closely followed by the rival companies of Franz Anton Hoffmeister, Christoph Toricella and Leopold Kozeluch.¹ These firms responded to a new music clientele made up of the new aristocracy and the bourgeoisie who needed music for private celebrations and less formal gatherings.² Aspiring to the "taste club" of the nobility, who traditionally maintained musical establishments, these lower classes increasingly organised their own musical entertainments, naturally on a much lower budget. Further, in order to supply music for this growing market the old trade of hand-copying music was extended and opened up to a public market, so that the two publishing industries, engraving and copying, existed side-by-side.³ Schönfeld's *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst* of 1796 lists the three copying firms, Lausch, Sukovaty and Träg, (Schönfeld's spelling) besides the

¹ Hannelore Gericke, *Der Wiener Musikalienhandel von 1700 bis 1778* (Graz and Cologne: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf, 1960), 92-97.

² This development is preceeded in other European cities such as London, Amsterdam and particularly Paris. See Cari Johansson, *French Music Publishers' Catalogues of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* (Stockholm, 1955); Anik Devries and F. Lesure, *Dictionnaire des editeurs de musique français: des origines a environ 1820* (Genève: Minkoff, 1979).

³ For a detailed exposé, see Dexter Edge, *Mozart's Viennese Copyists*, Ph.D. diss, University of Southern California, 2001.

publishers Artaria, Hofmeister (Schönfeld's spelling), Hohenleitner and Kozeluch.⁴ On the 21st of December 1782 the copyist Johann Traeg displayed his commercial spirit with an advertisement in the *Wiener Zeitung*:

He offers to give music out on loan for small and large academies for the price of their production and a little more such as 3 kr. for a quartet. If his idea is generally applauded, and if anyone wishes to take up his service, he asks most politely to visit him and he will have the honour to explain all further arrangements.⁵

In 1784 he extended his idea of a loan scheme to the domestic market:

News for Music Lovers. Johann Traeg in the Pilatisches Haus on Petersplatz on the first floor has the honor to assure a highly honored public that he, encouraged by the acclaim granted him up to now, has designed a plan which will be most welcome to music lovers; for they will thereby be placed in the position to amuse themselves as often as they wish, at little cost, with the best pieces of the greatest masters. There are, namely, in this city several families and individual persons who entertain themselves weekly with large or small musical academies. Many of them wish not to overload themselves with music, or at least to have a preliminary hearing of the items they wish to buy. Since I now possess a splendid supply of the best and newest music of all types, and am motivated to increase it daily, I thus offer to lend out on a weekly basis either 3 symphonies, or 6 quintets, 6 quartets, 6 trios, &c. for a quarterly advance payment of 3 gulden. If someone wishes to give musical academies twice a week and consequently needs for them 6 symphonies or 12 other pieces, he can likewise subscribe for these, and pays quarterly only 5 gulden. Because I must, however, strive to

⁴ Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch*, 85-86. (His entries do not specify which publishers provide printed copies and which provide manuscript copies)

⁵ *Wiener Zeitung*, 21.12.1782: "Er erbierte sich, Musikalien zu kleinen und großen Akademien, gegen Einsatz des Werthes und einer Kleinigkeit, z.B. 3 kr für ein Quartett herzuleihen. Sollte er mit diesem Vorschlage Beyfall finden, und sollte jemand davon Gebrauch machen wollen, so bittet er höflichst, dass man ihn besuchen, wo er dann das Nähere davon zu erklären die Ehre haben wird." see also Alexander Weinmann, *Die Anzeigen des Kopiaturbetriebes Johann Traeg in der Wiener Zeitung zwischen 1782 und 1805* (Vienna: Musikverlag Ludwig Krenn, 1981).

serve everyone properly, no one will question that the pieces received must be returned immediately the following day. On account of my great acquaintance among the best musicians here, I can also provide skilled musicians for large and small academies for a very low price. In order best to be able to meet these commissions, however, I request that orders always be placed with me in the mornings.⁶

With this new scheme Traeg addressed himself specifically to the dilettante market that demanded a fast turn-over of music for weekly musical gatherings. In addition to a constant supply of music, Traeg offered the service of musicians who could complement the party; we can deduce that musicians were required for two occasions: either to form a scratch-band orchestra for celebratory occasions such as balls or, to join a group of players within a domestic setting. A closer look at the music confirms that chamber music was played frequently by musicians of a technically diverse calibre; not only was this

⁶ *Wiener Zeitung*, 25.2. 1784, 395-96: "Nachricht an die Musikliebhaber. Johann Traeg im Pilatischen Haus am Peter im ersten Stock hat die Ehre ein hochzuehrendes Publikum zu versichern, daß er, aufgemuntert durch den ihm bisher geschenkten Beyfall, einen Plan entworfen, der den Musikliebhabern sehr willkommen seyn wird; da sie dadurch in den Stand gesetzt werden, mit wenigen Kosten durch die besten Stücke der größten Meister, so oft es ihnen beliebt, sich zu vergnügen. Es giebt nämlich in hiesiger Stadt mehrere Familien, und einzelne Personen, die sich wöchentlich durch grosse oder kleine musikalische Akademien unterhalten. Viele davon wollen sich mit Musikalien nicht überhäufen, oder doch wenigstens die Sachen vorläufig hören welche sie kaufen wollen. Da ich nun einen schönen Vorrath von den besten und neuesten Musikalien in allen Fächern besitze, auch bemüht bin, ihn noch täglich zu vermehren, so erbiere ich mich entweder 3 Sinfonien, oder 6 Quintetten, 6 Quartetten, 6 Trios &c. gegen vierteljährige Vorausbezahlung von 3 fl., wöchentlich auszuleihen. Will jemand zweymal in der Woche musikalische Akademien geben, und folglich 6 Sinfonien oder 12 andere Stücke dazu brauchen, der kann sich ebenfalls darauf abonniren, und zahlt vierteljährig nur 5fl. Weil ich mich aber bestreben muß, jedermann richtig zu bedienen, so wird niemand Bedenken tragen, die empfangene Stücke den folgenden Tag gleich wieder zurück zu stellen. Wegen meiner grossen Bekanntschaft mit den besten hiesigen Musicis, kann ich auch zu grossen und kleinen Akademien geschickte Musiker um einen sehr billigen Preis verschaffen. Um aber diese Aufträge bestens besorgen zu können, bitte ich, daß man die Bestellung jederzeit Vormittags bey mir mache." Translation quoted from Edge, *Mozart's Viennese Copyists*, 151; see also Weinmann, *Anzeigen*, 16-17.

combination of players of different social and musical ranks customary, but the mixing of professional musicians and noble or upper middle-class dilettantes was in fact part and parcel of the musical make-up and social purpose.

Johann Traeg advertised frequently in both the *Wiener Zeitung* and *Wienerblättchen*, two papers that reported on current political affairs, both local and international, whilst supplying advertisements for books and music, theatre announcements, the local market times, the times for sun-rise and sun-set, and other general tidbits. Addressed to the educated city public, these papers also included a number of pragmatic articles on the establishment of schools, as well as philosophical articles concerned with the purpose of a national education. Far from maintaining a serious tone, the *Wienerblättchen* also contained advertisements for *Gesellschaftspiele* – collections of parlour games; Traeg, Lausch and others used the journal to announce their latest musical publications. On the 27th of September 1783 Traeg advertised three concertos by Mozart besides "new quartets, trios and symphonies, German arias, by lots of famous masters."⁷ Three days later Joseph Franz Seuche made the following offer:

Joseph Franz Seuche ... offers for sale the following music. 1) six quintets in two versions, either with 1 violin, 1 oboe, viola, cello and double bass, or à 2 violins, 2 violas and bass. 2) six quartets à 2 violins, viola and bass. 3) six divertimentos à 2 violins and bass. The price for each group is 6 guilders.⁸

⁷ *Wiener Blättchen*, 27.9.1783.

⁸ *Wiener Blättchen*, 30.9.1783, 32: "Bey Joseph Franz Seuche... sind folgende geschriebene Musikalien zu verkaufen. 1) Sechs Quintette so auf zweyerlei Art zu haben sind, entweder mit 1 Violino, 1 Oboe, Viola , Violoncello und Contrabasso,

Seuche "failed" to note the composers of the music he offered, a common feature in these advertisements which were designed primarily to alert the music-lover to the shop rather than to a particular composer or work. As he was promoting his business to a public intent on a fast turn-over of new pieces, the genre of these pieces played a far greater role than the name of the composer. Symphonies and chamber music were both offered for the domestic market, i.e. for a market in which music entertained, and music-making was entertained. Both the lack of references to performances and the lack of reviews are indicative of a culture of music-making focused on its immediate function of entertainment and momentary effectiveness in the service of *Bildung*. The sheer number of such moments would ultimately come together like a jigsaw puzzle to form a unified manner of communicating, which was the basis of understanding and consensus. As such the meaning of this wealth of repertoire lay not in the individual work, but in the group of works, in their number and parallel make-up. What seems to us formulaic and un-artistic if considered under the aesthetics of the individual work of art becomes highly relevant under the aegis of an art firmly rooted in the social function of a communal experience, which is at once pragmatic and aesthetic.

That music was composed and published to be played, not simply to be listened to, that its purpose lay in the active engagement of fellow *Kenner und Liebhaber*, not in the preservation of monads of

oder mit 2 Violini, 2 Violon und Bass. 2) Sechs Quarteten à 2 Violini, Viola und Bass. 3) Sechs Divertimenten à 2 Violini und Bass. Der Preis jeder Gattung ist 7 Gulden."

eternal truth, is suggested by Johann Traeg's publishing catalogues. In his 1799 catalogue Traeg introduced a new cataloguing system that allowed easy manoeuvring between its different sections: his catalogue was no longer an archival record for himself, but rather an ordering manual designed to assist his broad clientele.⁹ Traeg's catalogue is divided into three main sections, and he listed each piece in each section, once ordered according to genre, once by composer's names and, finally, by instrument. He thus permitted searches by various categories. The generic sections are classed according to "Cammer-Musik," "Theatral-Musik," "Kirchen-Musik" and "Miscellanien" comprising books and treatises. Chamber music is categorised by a) instrumental music and b) clavier music. Descending in number, the "Chamber music" section begins with symphonies and overtures, followed by "concertierende Stücke" comprising *Concertante Sinfonien* but also *Notturmi*, *Serenades*, *Cassations* and *Divertimenti*. Octets, septets and sextets are equally subsumed under this section. Then Traeg listed concertos for one or more instruments, before turning to quintets, quartets, trios and duets. The latter three are ordered according to the instruments involved and the nature of the piece. The quintets therefore appear in three sections: the first type lists all those for a "fixed", i.e. customary group of two violins, two violas and cello.¹⁰

⁹ *Verzeichniß alter und neuer sowohl geschriebener als gestochener Musikalien, welche in der Kunst- und Musikalienhandlung des Johann Traeg, zu Wien, in der Singerstrasse Nr 957 zu haben sind.* Kostet 30 Kr. (Wien, 1799).

¹⁰ In Vienna the two viola quintet was a prominent type, see Cliff Eisen, "Mozart and the Viennese String Quintet," in *Mozarts Streichquintette*, ed. Cliff Eisen and Wolf-Dieter Seiffert (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994), 127-52, and Tilman Sieber, *Das klassische Streichquintett: quellenkundliche und gattungsgeschichtliche Studien* (Bern and München: Francke, 1983).

The second group lists all those for other combinations of instruments, and the third group comprises opera and ballet arrangements.¹¹ Whilst other publishers issued similar catalogues, none considered the amateur musician's needs as carefully as Traeg did in this user-friendly manual. Besides his vast collection of chamber music for all manner of instrumental combinations, he offered by far the largest collection of arrangements of opera arias, symphonies and overtures. In addition, a great number of treatises on composition and performance were to be had at his shop, ranging from Albrechtsberger's *Fundamenten zum Orgel- oder Klavierspielen* and *Anweisung zur Composition*, via an anonymous *Amusement des Dames* to Geminiani's violin method and Türk's *Klavierschule*. Besides instrumental methods and composition treatises, Traeg catered for a new thoughtful and inquisitive market by offering a number of essays on the philosophy and aesthetics of music. Here, Engel (*Über die musikalische Mahlerey*) rubbed shoulders with Reichardt (*Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*), and Schmith's *Philosophische Fragmente über die praktische Musik* stood side by side with Gerber's and Forkel's new biographical and historical tomes. The range reflected the new interest in music as art that inspired a body of amateur theory for a bourgeois class whose sense of self was increasingly dependent on a comprehensive cult of art complete with historical foundations and user manuals.¹²

¹¹ In his 1804 catalogue Traeg inserts a separate category for quintets for violin, two violas, cello and doublebass.

¹² The changing perception and function of music as art will be discussed further in Chapter IV.

Traeg's commercial spirit proved to be a very localised and adaptable one. He offered his vast output of chamber music mostly in manuscript and ordered engraved parts from publishing houses in other cities – a form of dissemination that entailed virtually no risk factor as long as chamber music generically would continue to be in high demand.¹³ The individual piece recedes behind the importance of the mass. Each piece gains its value from its categorisation within a group, not from its individual aspects, its composer, or its afterlife in posterity. Traeg offered music for the here and now; multiplied upon demand it was generated, used and returned.

As advertisements outweigh reviews we are faced with a mass of compositions with a striking lack of recorded performances. Sextets, quintets, quartets, trios and duets spell out a musical culture formed of an alphabet of conventions that in its myriad permutations within the culture at large, not within each individual piece, gains the coherence of a language. The semantics of a musical *culture* gain their semiotic significance not from inner aesthetics, but from external social parameters according to which they are constructed. Perhaps we have never been further from art for art's sake than in the compositions by Zimmermann, Kozeluch, Wranitzky, Hoffmeister et.al. but also in those by Joseph Haydn and W.A. Mozart. Here, artistry lies not in the individual aesthetic object alone, but in its social practice forcing us to recall the meaning of art in the eighteenth century: the aesthetic effect of the pleasant, the beautiful and the sublime is validated by measuring it on the scales of morality; education,

¹³ See also Appendix I: String Quintets offered for sale by J. Traeg in 1799, column 1.

responsiveness and social spirit are compounded to answer the complex question where morality as an *a priori* human capacity resides and how to develop it best. To the late eighteenth century eliminating the idea that ethical values are "natural" would border dangerously close on the self-destruction of any society, so that political philosophy as well as cultural endeavours seek to fortify the connectivity between emotional response – exercised through the controlled environment of art - and moral feeling. While music publishing was increasingly commercialised, music-making was not yet commodified – far from being merely entertaining and as such a means of controlling the independent spirit of the new prominent classes, music and, more specifically, chamber music must be considered the most striking, socially relevant art form thanks to its conspicuous weakness: in order to be music it requires privileging the perceiver over the creator. In the late eighteenth century music's reliance on the performer and the listener in order to exist as a work of art became its prime virtue, as the composer as creator of the piece was relegated to the (initial) idea, whereas the creators of meaning were those who entered into a literal dialogue as they came together and played.¹⁴

2. Dialogues in Instrumental Music and the Recognition of Meaning: Analytical Approaches

Dialogue as a metaphor for compositional processes in late eighteenth-century chamber music is a topic much discussed in recent

¹⁴ In Chapter IV I will elaborate further on the definition of art as comprising both aesthetic value and social function.

scholarship.¹⁵ Chamber music in particular is considered to reflect the importance of a humanistic conversational culture, so that general rules of conversation transcend the compositional structure.¹⁶ Carl Dahlhaus understood the conversational model to be an essential element of the string quartet, yet this model metamorphosed promptly from an actual social stimulation that contributed to the compositional process to a compositionally characteristic, yet socially autonomous technique.¹⁷ Important for the functioning of this conversation is the understanding of each individual part's contribution to the whole,¹⁸ yet

¹⁵ Rhetoric is a prominent referent for compositional processes in eighteenth-century music theory. However, rhetorical structures here function as models for composition, not as metaphors for its subsequent exegesis. See Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980); Bellamy Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981); Wye J. Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le nozze di Figaro and Don Giovanni* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Kofi Agawu, *Playing with Signs: a Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); Mark E. Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991); Leonard G. Ratner, "Topical Content in Mozart's Keyboard Sonatas," *Early Music* 19 (1991): 615–19; Tom Beghin, "Haydn as Orator: a Rhetorical Analysis of his Keyboard Sonata in D major, Hob.XVI:42," in *Joseph Haydn and his World*, ed. E.R. Sisman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 201–54.

¹⁶ This view was firmly established in Ludwig Finscher, *Studien zur Geschichte des Streichquartetts I. Die Entstehung des klassischen Streichquartetts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974).

¹⁷ Carl Dahlhaus, *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Laaber: Laaber, 1985), 280: "Das 'Gespräch' der vier Instrumente scheint die unbewusste Leit-Idee gewesen zu sein, unter der sich schon die Fürnberg-Divertimenti entwickelten, aus der sich die – auf engstem und bescheidenstem Raum – erstaunliche Vorwegnahme der später so unerhört verfeinerten Techniken der motivischen Entwicklung und Durchführung und des Prinzips des durchbrochenen, kammermusikalisch-solistischen Satzes erklären, aus der die später von Haydns reifen Quartetten abgeleitete Theorie der Gattung ein zentrales Abgrenzungskriterium gegen andere Gattungen ableitete, bis hin zu Goethes berühmter Formulierung: 'Man hört vier vernünftige Leute sich untereinander unterhalten, glaubt ihren Diskursen etwas abzugewinnen und die Eigentümlichkeiten der Instrumente kennen zu lernen.'"

¹⁸ Dahlhaus, *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 45: "Erstens ist in einigen Gattungen, wie dem Streichquartett, nicht die Perspektive des Zuhörers (der anwesend sein, aber auch fehlen kann), sondern die des Beteiligten ästhetisch ausschlaggebend. Für einen Cellisten, der an der thematisch-motivischen Arbeit eines Haydn'schen Streichquartetts partizipiert, statt bloß stützende Basstöne zu spielen, liegt es nahe,

from Haydn's quartets Op.33 onwards, Dahlhaus claims, the essence of the dialogue has transcended the physical reality of the four players and resides firmly within Haydn's text.¹⁹ Understanding dialogue and role-play in a metaphorical sense and applying it to compositional processes, not to performance events, has been a characteristic of German musicology in particular. Late eighteenth-century conversation culture functions as an aesthetic backdrop for a compositional (*satztechnisches*) phenomenon. Chamber music is analogous to conversation, but does not present a conversation as such.

Ludwig Finscher invokes Goethe's famous words that the string quartet is the conversation between four sensible people,²⁰ a trope that guaranteed the genre's particular association with a compositional style based on exchange between four equal participants.²¹ These participants, in Finscher's interpretation, are musical lines, elements in the hands of the composer, who single-handedly models a work of

eine musikalische Logik oder Dialektik, an der er wie an einem "vernünftigen Gespräch" (Goethe) beteiligt ist, auch in den übrigen Stimmen des Ensembles wahrzunehmen."

¹⁹ Dahlhaus, *Die Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 289: "Die Intimität und Subtilität der Gattung fand gleichsam Zuflucht im konzentrierten Studium der Partitur durch den ernsthaften Hörer. - Die relative Autonomie der Gattung vom musikalischen Alltag - ein für die Epoche durchaus neues Phänomen, recht eigentlich der Beginn des "autonomen" Kunstwerks - war die äußerste Konsequenz der Gattungsentwicklung, die Haydn vollzogen hatte."

²⁰ Karl Robert Mandelkow, ed., *Goethes Briefe* (Hamburg: Wegner Verlag, 1967), vol.4, 349. Goethe writes to Zelter on November 9th 1829: "Wäre ich in Berlin, so würde ich die Mörserschen Quartettabende selten versäumen. Dieser Art Exhibitionen waren mir von jeher von der Instrumental-Musik das Verständlichste: man hört vier vernünftige Leute sich untereinander unterhalten, glaubt ihren Diskursen etwas abzugewinnen und die Eigentümlichkeiten der Instrumente kennen zu lernen."

²¹ Finscher follows a particularly German bias here, establishing the string quartet as a German high art genre without considering similar and, in fact, earlier developments in the aesthetics of chamber music in France. See also Barbara Hanning, "Conversation and musical style in the late eighteenth-century Parisian salon," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* Vol. 22/3 (1989): 512-528.

art with and through them. The quartet style becomes the "Urform," the quintessence of a classical language that is characterised by "a higher order and inner coherence."²² Conversation and discourse are aesthetic models that inspire the composer as he constructs the work. Nicole Schwindt-Gross takes up this idea to argue that Haydn's "musical thinking" is rooted in this discursive aesthetic,²³ unlike Mozart's, whose coherent musical logic Schwindt-Gross attributes to a dramatic conception. Her starting point is the derivation of "Klang-Rede" or "Tonsprache" in Mattheson's *Vollkommener Capellmeister*, which he bases (unless mentioned otherwise) on vocal models. Musical structures gain their constructive basis from linguistic models, so that instrumental music is discursive by association. Schwindt-Gross' discussion remains focused on the compositional process and its reconstruction through listening, its understanding through analysis. She does not include the concept of empathy; nor does she account for the construction of dialogues through the act of playing. As Schwindt-Gross understands it, instrumental music - and chamber music in particular - derives its syntactical structure from the linguistic model not by borrowing tropes, but by being assembled from similar logical constructs. Further, the semantics are a direct result of the syntactical structure; the two go hand in hand.

In contrast to Schwindt-Gross' twentieth-century linguistic models, Simon Keefe, in his examination of dialogue in late eighteenth-

²² Finscher, *Studien Zur Geschichte des Streichquartetts I*, 19: "höhere Ordnung und innere Schlüssigkeit".

²³ Nicole Schwindt-Gross, *Drama und Diskurs. Zur Beziehung zwischen Satztechnik und motivischem Prozeß am Beispiel der durchbrochenen Arbeit in den Streichquartetten Mozarts und Haydns* (Laaber: Laaber, 1989), 120.

century piano concertos, anchors his definition and application of dialogue in late eighteenth-century theory as well as placing it within its social context. Starting from Koch's definition of the concerto as the interaction between the soloist and the orchestra, Keefe provides a social background for dialogue based on sources that discuss conversational culture and the importance of social codes, including Mme de Stael's letters and memoirs and Adolph Freiherr von Knigge's moral and social treatise *Vom Umgang mit Menschen*. This historical framework, however, serves merely as justification for a reading of Mozart's piano concertos based primarily on their discursive features; "dialogue," as Keefe claims, "constitutes the most important determiner of piano/orchestra relations."²⁴ In his analysis Keefe takes dialogue to be a work-internal characteristic, one that can be located in the notated text. Dialogue, yet again, is but a metaphor for compositional processes and Keefe uses it as an analytical tool to access the compositional text. The actual conversers are depersonalised: they are musical lines, not performers of music. Using dialogue purely as a metaphor for musical structures akin to Schwindt-Gross' evocation of the concept, Keefe reveals his belief in the fixed work of art; his analysis is designed to illustrate the one and only true meaning of the work, to which the text itself holds the key. Again, the syntactical – inspired in its construction by an aesthetic premise – is solely responsible for the semantic meaning: despite his historically sensitive reading of the concept of dialogue, Keefe's application of the concept to

²⁴ Simon Keefe, "Dialogue in the First Movements of Mozart's Viennese Piano Concertos," Ph.D. diss, Columbia University, 1997.

the music renders the meaning of the pieces static. Neither the actual performed dialogue of pianist and orchestra, nor the dialogue between these two and the audience is taken into account in his evaluation of the concerti.

Whereas Keefe discovers in these concerti a formal element that converses with a concept external to the music, other writers interpret the musical syntax as a direct system of communication between composer and audience. In *Haydn's "Ingenious Jestings with Art": Contexts of Musical Wit and Humour*, Gretchen Wheelock extends the theme of conventions in late eighteenth-century instrumental music.²⁵ In part she borrows terms from Leonard Ratner's systematic discussion of musical topics, the significance of which is based on associations with original functions such as dance, court or military genres or on stylistic traditions established by frequent use. The latter comprise operatic styles and tropes of serious music borrowed from the church idiom. She extends the catalogue by adding formal conventions derived from typical syntactic patterns appearing throughout late eighteenth-century compositions, as well as conventions built up by patterns of regularity (and therefore predictability) or patterns that a single piece of music invokes repeatedly, thereby establishing its own language of conventions.²⁶ On the basis of these conventions as "categories of the familiar," Wheelock illustrates that instrumental music presents its own system of

²⁵ Gretchen A. Wheelock, *Haydn's "Ingenious Jestings with Art": Contexts of Musical Wit and Humor* (New York: Schirmer Books; Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan Canada; New York: Maxwell Macmillan International), 1992.

²⁶ Wheelock, *Haydn's Ingenious Jestings*, 203.

communication quite apart from the frequently evoked language analogy, and she identifies Haydn's masterful, humorous and witty play within this system. Haydn's "musical jesting" plays with our perceptions of stability and ambivalence invoked by musical elements that are made up of a number of traditionally related parameters. Breaking these traditional associations affects the listener in the way an optical illusion affects the spectator, and the listener has to reassemble the elements in order to understand both the music and the joke. The listener is forced into an active engagement with the music, one that Wheelock backs up with eighteenth-century accounts of active audience perception.²⁷ In other words, the listener's rational faculties are called upon to make sense of his emotional sensation, mostly shock or surprise, which is caused by the aural sensation. Once the sensation has been rationalised, the outcome is mostly a different kind of sensation, one of pleasure. The composer therefore manipulates the listener into a two-fold sensational world, the vital point in my opinion being that the sensation changes through the enforced act of rationalisation. Wheelock describes the processes but does not raise the question of meaning with regard to this last aspect – the subversion of feeling. Rather, her study is concerned with the subversion of expectation in the first place. As such, her book concerns itself with Haydn's compositional process as informed by the composer's full consciousness of his audiences' expectations. His distribution of musical elements challenges both performer and listener into recognition, relies on their willingness and knowledge to a

²⁷ Wheelock, *Haydn's Ingenious Jestings*, 196.

certain extent, but ultimately the meaning of his music lies in his compositional act and in the creation of a musical work, represented by the text. That this is informed in the preliminary stages by social considerations does not change the fact that at the end of Haydn's compositional act, the piece stands firm, ready for us to decipher. Composer and listener have separate roles, each clearly defined, and meaning is revealed whether one is the performing listener or the silent listener. Meaning relies on rational faculties, not solely on sensual ones.

The question whether another meaning can be gained only from being the physically active, performing listener has been discussed by Elisabeth Le Guin in *Boccherini's Body*.²⁸ Her assessment of a musical repertoire that is at once virtuosic and belongs to the more serious chamber music realm, seeks to uncover the meaning in the visual and physiological parameters of music. In her attempt to bridge the historical gap between the eighteenth-century composer and today's performer and listener she asks what the effects were of seeing music being made and of feeling music by making it, before arguing that these effects might have been central to the message of the music itself. Against the backdrop of the eighteenth-century cult of sensibility, the reflection of emotion expressed through physical actions offers fertile ground for the interface of the physical sensations of making music and its textual representation, and Le Guin credits Boccherini with the construction of intentional physical sensations

²⁸ Elisabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body : An Essay in Carnal Musicology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006).

that – through the context of the music – become linked with certain emotional sensations. Le Guin's "carnal" analysis of a Boccherini quartet overturns formal analysis as well as the analysis of socially and aesthetically inspired conventions to present the text as read through "the bodies of your listeners and readers," an approach that shifts the physical sensation of the individual and hence the act of music-making from the periphery to the centre.²⁹ Instead of an analysis, Le Guin presents the conversation that takes place after playing the music, in which each performer describes his physical sensations with respect to his own playing experience, but also with reference to his understanding of his role within the metaphorical body of the string quartet. Whereas the latter unfortunately subsumes him into a preconceived notion of a metaphorical whole again, a whole that is the unity of sounds of the idealised string quartet as one body, the former yields interesting social statements, which in fact contradict the idea of a unified body. The following responses suggest the interpretation of the quartet as an actual mini society, not a metaphorical clockwork:

Cellist: I was feeling quite disconnected from all of you, frankly. Solid, independent, marching to my own drummer. I was taking considerable pleasure in the fact.

Violist: I feel I'm contributing something of my own for once.

First Violinist: You mean, you get to control things?

Violist: Ah! I knew it! You *do* feel mastery there! I bet you even enjoy it!³⁰

²⁹ Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body*, 235.

³⁰ Le Guin. *Boccherini's Body*. 241, 242 and 247 respectively.

The rhetoric of social relations used by the players to describe their physical sensations is inadvertent to the point that finally Le Guin concedes:

A certain level of tension between individuality and cooperation seems to become a theme of this piece as – and only as – expressed in performance.³¹

Performance, therefore, is the statement of social relations – here, social relations are enacted. As they are enacted they can be guided and regulated through their textual basis. Le Guin describes the specific case of a virtuoso composing and thereby stumbles on the essential aspect of music as visual performance as well as audible performance. What she forgets to mention, however, is that prescribing or capturing the sensuality of playing in the musical text can also become a means to regulate the "being seen." On the grounds that chamber music is played more than observed during the late eighteenth century, Le Guin suggests that a piece of chamber music presents an assemblage of instigators of sensuality, sentimentality, dialogue, debate, dissolution and unity, all of which exercise the individual in his constant negotiation with a group.

3. Ears, Fibres and Expression: "Bewegung" as Meaning in Instrumental music

Analysis – in as diverse manifestations as the previous examples illustrated – establishes both meaning and value in a musical work through the interpretation of its textual manifestation. Whereas this

³¹ Le Guin. *Boccherini's Body*. 243.

method of assessment originated during the nineteenth century and became a firmly established method for appraising the superiority of musical masterpieces, the eighteenth century struggled with the assessment of instrumental music as a fine art, precisely because an ideology that accepted music's meaning to be encapsulated within a written text was not yet in place.³² Though not in itself a problem, this lack of textual manifestation meant that music's effect was harder to recapture than the effect of a painting or poetry:

In light of this obvious advantage of music over the other arts, we must not forget that its effect is more ephemeral than that of the other arts. What you have seen or heard or read in a speech is easier to recall than pure tones.³³

Music is ephemeral, its contents non-conceptual with regard to its meaning. Whereas the subject of a poem or depiction can be recalled even in the absence of the artefact, according to Kirnberger, the author of this entry in Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*,³⁴

³² The gradual emancipation of instrumental music in the late eighteenth century has recently been discussed in Bellamy Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor, 1981); John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1986); Nicolas Henri Waldvogel, "The Eighteenth-Century Esthetics of the Sublime and the Valuation of the Symphony," Ph.D. diss, Yale University Press, 1986.

³³ Johann Georg Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1792-1794), facsimile reprint (Hildesheim, New York: G. Olms, 1994), 3: 434, § Musik: "Bey diesem augenscheinlichen Vorzug der Musik über andre Künste, muß doch nicht unerinnert gelassen werden, daß ihre Würkung mehr vorübergehend scheint, als die Würkung andrer Künste. Das was man gesehen, oder vermittelt der Rede vernommen hat, es sey, dass man es gelesen, oder gehört habe, läßt sich eher wieder ins Gedächtnis zurückrufen als bloße Töne."

³⁴ In compiling the music sections of his *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* Sulzer sought advice from Johann Philipp Kirnberger and Johann A.P. Schulz. Sulzer and Kirnberger collaborated on the articles pertaining to the first half of the alphabet, as Sulzer's health deteriorated Schulz began to take over work, both, in co-authorship with Kirnberger and single-handedly.

music's subject is more difficult to identify. The impressions of music are of high impact, yet remain short-lived:

If you are concerned with a sudden effect, which must not be lasting, music is the best of all means to create this effect.³⁵

In this context pre-verbal and pre-conceptual impressioning makes music the most natural of the arts. Kirnberger described music as the most vivacious (lebhaftig) art, which mirrors life most closely in its fluctuation of impulses. Music affects man physiologically and sensually without the mediation of reason:

Music infiltrates us, because it touches our nerves; it speaks, because it awakens certain passions in us.³⁶

Its powerful combination of emotional and physical impact is arresting, almost enslaving, for "no other art will captivate the soul as quickly and irresistibly."³⁷ It affects not only our aural sense, but its vibrations set in motion the fibres of our bodies, thereby forcing us to move in accordance with the music:

It is impossible to listen to music without being enslaved by the spirit that lies within it: one is forced against one's will to express in gestures and movements what one feels when listening.³⁸

³⁵ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 3: 434, § Musik: "Also müssen die Werke der Musik, die dauernde Eindrücke machen soll, oft wiederholt werden. Hingegen, wo es um plötzliche Würkung zu thun ist, die nicht fortdauernd seyn darf, da erreicht die Musik den Zweck besser, als alle Mittel, die man sonst anwenden könnte."

³⁶ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 3: 434, § Musik: "Musik dringet ein, weil sie die Nerven angreift; und sie spricht, weil sie bestimmte Empfindungen erweken kann."

³⁷ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 3: 432, § Musik: "Man wird von keiner andern Kunst sehen, daß sie sich der Gemüther so schnell und so unwiderstehlich bemächtigt."

³⁸ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 3: 427, § Musik: "Es ist nicht möglich sie anzuhören, ohne ganz von dem Geiste der darin liegt, beherrscht zu werden: man wird wider Willen gezwungen, das, was man dabey fühlt, durch Gebärden und Bewegung des Körpers auszudrücken."

Kirnberger claims that music is an actual physical force that affects not only the inner movement of our passions, but the movement of our bodies as well. In a dance, for instance, the figures must be adjusted to the passions invoked by the corresponding music; thereby they express that emotion visually and physically:

In dance, the path that the dancers take insofar as it is regular, is called a figure. ... The figure therefore contributes not only to the pleasure of the dance, but to its expression and meaning. – It is easy to see that the manner of walking and the chosen path of the dancers is determined by the passion within them.³⁹

According to this theory, emotions can be encoded in certain figures, which in turn means that certain figures can dictate or inspire the right emotions, particularly when combined with the passionate and moving forces of music:

Because music that is accompanied by the appropriate physical movements makes a great impression, and because dance is suited to awaken a variety of passionate and seemly sensations, this genre of music is not insignificant, and could be used in particular for the education of man's disposition.⁴⁰

³⁹ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 4: 385, § Tanz: "Beym Tanzen wird der Weg, den die Tänzer nehmen, in so fern er regelmäßig und symmetrisch ist, die Figur genennet. ... Die Figur ist (also) eines von den Dingen, die nicht nur zur Annehmlichkeit, sondern auch zum Ausdruck und der Bedeutung des Tanzes das ihrige beyträgt. – Man begreift leicht, daß der Gang der Menschen, auch in Ansehung des Weges, den sie nehmen, einigermaßen durch das Leidenschaftliche in ihnen bestimmt wird."

⁴⁰ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 3: 431, § Musik: "Aber da die mit übereinstimmender körperlicher Bewegung begleitete Musik lebhaften Eindruck macht, der Tanz aber schicklich ist, mancherley leidenschaftliche und sittliche Empfindungen zu erwecken, so wird diese Gattung der Musik nicht unwichtig, und könnte besonders auch zur Bildung der Gemüther angewendet werden."

Here, Kirnberger reveals his true motivation: music should be used for the education of the soul.⁴¹ Its emotional and physical force makes it the perfect tool for the moral education of man:

It follows that this divine art could be called upon by politics for the execution of the most important business. What incomprehensible sin that it is seen as nothing but the pastime of lazy people! Do we need to mention anything else that proves better that an age can be rich in sciences and mechanical arts, and rich in wit, yet so poor in healthy *Vernunft*?⁴²

Various, Kirnberger suggests that combining music's passionate and sensual forces with the conceptual force of words yields the best effects, but the former can equally be used on their own terms as long as they follow the main objective of art to nurture the right moral feeling. Employed at a specific occasion, instrumental music's powerful sensations will serve the moral education of man equally well.

⁴¹ The moral force of art is a driving incentive behind the encyclopaedic exercise of the *Allgemeine Theorie* and it rears its head in a variety of articles. With regard to the passions Sulzer explains: "Es soll hier gezeigt werden, 1) was der Künstler zur Erwekung und zur Besänftigung der Leidenschaften zu wissen und zu thun habe, 2) wie er jede nach ihrer Natur, in ihren Aeüßerungen, und nach ihren guten und schlimmen Würkungen, oder Folgen schildern soll. Der erste Hauptpunkt theilet sich wieder in zwey andre; denn es entstehen dabey diese zwey Fragen; wie das izt ruhige Gemüth in Leidenschaft zu setzen, oder das in große Bewegung gesezte zu besänftigen sey; und: *wie überhaupt seine Reizbarkeit zu verstärken, oder zu schwächen sey, damit es die beste Stimmung bekomme, sowol herrschende, als vorübergehende leidenschaftliche Empfindungen in einem vortheilhaften Maaße anzunehmen. Sollen die schönen Künste, wie man zu allen Zeiten von ihnen geglaubt hat, die eigentlichen Mittel seyn, die Gemüther der Menschen überhaupt zu bilden, und in besondern Fällen zu lenken; so muß der Künstler nothwendig jeder der vorher erwähnten Punkte, als Mittel zum Zweck zu gelangen, in seiner Gewalt haben.*" Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 3: 223, § Leidenschaften, italics mine.

⁴² Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 3: 434, § Musik: "Aus allen diesen Anmerkungen folget, daß diese göttliche Kunst von der Politik zu Ausführung der wichtigsten Geschäfte könnte zu Hülfe gerufen werden. Was für ein unbegreiflicher Frevel, daß sie blos als ein Zeitvertreib müßiger Menschen angesehen wird! Braucht man mehr als dieses, um zu beweisen, daß ein Zeitalter reich an Wissenschaft und mechanischen Künsten, oder an Werken des Witzes, und sehr arm an gesunder Vernunft seyn könne?"

In addition, music is a diversion that, thanks to its impact on the body, facilitates concentration; for, as Kirnberger explains, "measured movement ... is entertaining and it facilitates remaining attentive."⁴³ This capacity of music to keep the attention and to make matters stick, belongs to texted and untexted music alike, since it depends on rhythm. Further, according to Kirnberger, music is born from our natural tendency to want to engage with emotions:

The purpose is not subject to any doubt, because we can be certain that the desire to converse in emotions and to heighten them thereby was the seed that brought forth music.⁴⁴

Music moves the emotions, music moves the body and music is pleasurable and "unterhaltsam" – entertaining and attention-keeping. The combination of the three predisposes music towards the conveying of moral values through a series of physical movements that enact social interaction, like the dance steps that reflect emotional dispositions.

If, for a moment, we were to close our eyes to a posterity that transformed music into a series of instrumental works that became museum pieces, ranking most highly those pieces that developed the highest formal intricacy, we could imagine that a type of music best fits the bill of Kirnberger's ideals, which is simple and repetitive, yet engages the emotions just enough to keep them entertained. The

⁴³ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 3: 434, § Musik: "Die abgemessene Bewegung... ist unterhaltend und erleichtert die Aufmerksamkeit oder jede andre Bestrebung auf einen Gegenstand."

⁴⁴ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 3: 434, § Musik: "Der Zweck ist keinem Zweifel unterworfen, da es gewiß ist, daß die Lust, sich in Empfindung zu unterhalten und sie zu verstärken, den ersten Keim der Musik hervorgebracht hat."

careful balance between a music that at once "forced us into engagement," physical and emotional, yet did not sweep us into a stupour might be just what Kirnberger was looking for in order to enhance *Bildung*. In this type of music, based on frequent repetition of patterns, phrases, physical sensations and soundscapes, *Bildung* in Sonnenfels' sense – i.e. social Bildung – could be exercised through the continuous practice of social interaction.

Taken as a body, the quintets offered in 1799 by Johann Traeg (see Appendix I) are, as we will see, highly formulaic. The following analysis explores these pieces not as individual artefacts, but as displaying a communality of patterns; each pattern gains its validity and meaning when we focus on the moment of experience. The analysis focuses on similarity rather than difference, as the frequent repetition of similar acts characterises these pieces. Music, the necessary interaction of composer, player and listener, was perforce a social art form. In late eighteenth-century Viennese string quintets the enactment of social patterns ranks above intricate formal or harmonic features. Further, the playing out of social roles resonates with a host of other social activities hitherto dismissed as mere divertissement: it permeates the salons through everything from concert activities to parlour games. If the individual work recedes behind its social function, the mass of music composed for the chamber in the late eighteenth century suddenly takes on an important role: far from being mere consumer-durables, these pieces gain meaning from each other, with each other and through their accumulated mass. Suffice it to remind ourselves that my analysis has to replace the act of playing and discussing and

thereby must remain a poor substitute for an assessment of the music that values the process above the work.

4. Meaningful Gestures

In 1799 Traeg offered six quintets by the Italian composer Giuseppe Antonio Capuzzi. Capuzzi had toured Europe in the 1790s, but his compositions had previously swept across the Alps through publications:

Capuzzi (--) made his name in Vienna around 1784 with 6 Violin-quartetts Op.1 and another 6 Op.2. We also know a Symphony for 11 instruments with two principal violins by him.⁴⁵

A manuscript copy of his quintets now kept in the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* dates the parts to 1795.⁴⁶

All six quintets are in four movements, opening with a weighty first movement, which dominates the quintet not only by its length but also in compositional style. In all six the opening Allegro is followed by a light-hearted Minuet and Trio, and a languishing slow movement characterised by the first violin's virtuosic meanderings, before concluding with an energetic Allegro or a dashing Rondo. In four of the six quintets the Minuet remains in the tonic key with a Trio in the subdominant, whereas Quintet No.1 features a Trio in the dominant

⁴⁵ Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig: J.G.I. Breitkopf, 1790-1792), Sp. 245, § Capuzzi: "Capuzzi (- -) machte sich zu Wien um 1784 durch 6 Violin-Quartetts Op.1 und 6 dergleichen Op.II bekannt. Man hat auch in Mspt. eine Sinfonie à 11, mit zwei Prinzipal-Violenen, von ihm." A copy of the quintets was made for the Kaisersammlung, see A-Wn, INV. I / Kaisersammlung Graz / J / 2. "Catolog [sic] / der von / S:^{er} Apost: Majestät Kaiser Franz Josef I / dem steierm: Musikvereine / geschenkten / Musikalien Sammlung," (1879).

⁴⁶ A-Wgm IX 31818

and Quintet No.2 – the only quintet in a minor key – one in the relative major. The Adagios appear in a variety of keys: one is in the relative minor, one in the tonic major. Two are in the subdominant and two in the dominant (see Table 1).

Table 1: Giuseppe Antonio Capuzzi (1755-1818). Six Quintetti Concertanti Op.3, pbl. Traeg, before 1799 – movement structure and key scheme

I	Allegro Eb	Minuetto / Trio Eb / Bb	Adagio c	Rondo Eb
II	Allegro c	Minuetto / Trio c / Eb	Adagio C	Allegro c
III	Allegro C	Minuetto / Trio C / F	Adagio F	Allegretto con Variazioni C
IV	Bb	Minuetto / Trio Bb / Eb	Eb	Rondo Bb
V	D	Minuetto / Trio D / G	Adagio A	Rondo D
VI	G	Minuetto / Trio G / C	Larghetto D	Rondo G

The opening Allegros are always in sonata form, as is the closing Allegro of Quintet No.II. The Adagios are in rounded binary form, ABA¹, modulating to the dominant for the central section. Form and structure of all six quintets is simple and formulaic; the following example taken from the exposition of Quintet No.1 in Eb major may stand paradigmatically for the group's style.

Allegro

The musical score is for a String Quintet in E-flat major, Movement (i) by A. Capuzzi. It is marked **Allegro**. The score is written for five staves: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. The key signature has three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into three systems. The first system (measures 1-5) begins with a forte (*f*) melody in the Violin I. The second system (measures 6-10) continues the melody with a piano (*p*) dynamic, followed by sforzando (*sfz*) and sfz dynamics. The third system (measures 11-13) features a rapid sixteenth-note passage in the Violin I with a piano (*p*) dynamic. The other string parts provide harmonic support with various dynamics and articulations.

Example 1: A. Capuzzi. String Quintet No.1 in Eb major. Movement (i)

Example 1 (continued)

14

Musical score for measures 14-17. The score is written for five staves (treble and bass clefs). The key signature has two flats. Measure 14 features a piano introduction with a forte (*f*) dynamic. Measures 15-17 show a complex melodic line in the upper staves, with a forte (*f*) dynamic and a *for* marking.

18

Musical score for measures 18-21. The score continues the melodic development. Measure 18 features a piano introduction. Measures 19-21 show a complex melodic line in the upper staves, with a forte (*f*) dynamic and a *for* marking.

22

Musical score for measures 22-25. The score continues the melodic development. Measure 22 features a piano introduction. Measures 23-25 show a complex melodic line in the upper staves, with a forte (*f*) dynamic and a *for* marking.

Example 1 (continued)

26



System 26: This system contains five staves. The top staff (treble clef) features a melodic line with eighth-note runs and trills. The second staff (treble clef) provides harmonic support with chords and some melodic fragments. The third and fourth staves (alto and tenor clefs) contain sustained notes and some rhythmic patterns. The bottom staff (bass clef) has a simple bass line with quarter and eighth notes.

31



System 31: This system contains five staves. The top staff (treble clef) has a complex melodic line with many beamed eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff (treble clef) continues the melodic development with similar rhythmic patterns. The third and fourth staves (alto and tenor clefs) consist of sustained notes, likely providing a harmonic background. The bottom staff (bass clef) has a steady bass line with quarter notes.

35



System 35: This system contains five staves. The top staff (treble clef) features a highly active melodic line with rapid sixteenth-note passages. The second staff (treble clef) has a more rhythmic accompaniment with eighth notes. The third and fourth staves (alto and tenor clefs) contain sustained notes. The bottom staff (bass clef) has a simple bass line with quarter notes.

Example 1 (continued)

38

Musical score for measures 38-41. The score is in 4/4 time with a key signature of two flats. It features a piano introduction with a melodic line in the right hand and a rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The piano part consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, while the right hand has a more complex melodic line with some grace notes. The system ends with a repeat sign.

42

Musical score for measures 42-45. The score continues the piano introduction. The right hand has a melodic line with a "solo" marking above it. The left hand continues with a rhythmic accompaniment. The system ends with a repeat sign.

46

Musical score for measures 46-49. The score continues the piano introduction. The right hand has a melodic line with a "solo" marking above it. The left hand continues with a rhythmic accompaniment. The system ends with a repeat sign.

Example 1 (continued)

50

Measures 50-53 of a musical score. The score is written for five staves: two treble clefs and three bass clefs. The key signature has two flats. Measures 50 and 51 feature a complex texture with multiple sixteenth-note runs in the upper staves and sustained notes in the lower staves. Measures 52 and 53 continue this texture with more sixteenth-note patterns and sustained notes.

54

Measures 54-57 of a musical score. The score is written for five staves: two treble clefs and three bass clefs. The key signature has two flats. Measures 54 and 55 show a continuation of the sixteenth-note runs in the upper staves. Measures 56 and 57 feature a more complex texture with multiple sixteenth-note runs in the upper staves and sustained notes in the lower staves.

58

Measures 58-61 of a musical score. The score is written for five staves: two treble clefs and three bass clefs. The key signature has two flats. Measures 58 and 59 feature a complex texture with multiple sixteenth-note runs in the upper staves and sustained notes in the lower staves. Measures 60 and 61 continue this texture with more sixteenth-note patterns and sustained notes.

Example 1 (continued)

The musical score consists of two systems of staves. The first system, labeled '62', contains measures 62 through 65. It features five staves: two treble clefs (Violin I and Violin II) and three bass clefs (Viola, Cello, and Double Bass). The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). Measure 62 shows a grand unison of quarter notes in all staves. Measure 63 continues the unison. Measure 64 introduces a first subject in the Violin I part, marked with a 'p' (piano) dynamic, while the other staves provide accompaniment. Measure 65 continues the first subject. The second system, labeled '66', contains measures 66 through 68. Measure 66 shows the first subject continuing in Violin I. Measure 67 continues the first subject. Measure 68 concludes the first subject with a double bar line. The score is written in a clear, professional notation style with standard musical symbols.

Opening with a grand unison statement outlining the tonic chord, the first eight-bar period presents a first subject that is based on a two-bar affirmative statement (bars 1-2) followed by a two-bar questioning motif group (bars, 3-4; see Example 1). The following four bars reiterate the questioning gesture twice (bars 5-8). A fourth statement of this motif group, albeit with a new accompaniment, leads into a four-bar extension that sets the rhythmic material of the opening affirmative statement against a curtain of triplets in the second violin, creating a very simple tune and accompaniment texture, in which the

former sings while the latter provides the rhythmic vitality. A four-bar *forte* play-out leads into a return of the opening statement, in which the second motif group enters stretto and is followed by another two-bar play-out figuration (bars 21-22), which again affirms the tonic key of Eb major. Only upon its reiteration in bars 25-26 does Capuzzi introduce the turn to the dominant Bb major via the secondary dominant F major. Four bars of bridge material, followed by four bars of harmonic ornamentation in the violins hammer home the dominant of Bb major with Eb major as its subdominant. In the next four-bar period the former triplet figuration becomes the main melodic material; the passage functions to affirm the new key more emphatically and it leads into a boldly stated imperfect cadence in Bb major. In bar 40 the second subject in Bb major is derived from the first, yet distinguishes itself through a two-voice texture. After four bars the two thematic players – violin 1 and 2 – swap roles and toy with a g minor inflection, before separating the second subject into two motivic elements, selecting the second to provide continuation material in a passage that affirms Bb major. In fact, the prominent affirmation of Bb major in b. 51 marks the first passage in which the cello leaves its bass-line function and joins in the thematic material with the two viola parts. Ten bars of quasi-cadential material (bars 55-64) are followed by a four-bar codetta (bars 65-68; see Table 2).

Table 2: A. Capuzzi, *String Quintet No.1 (A-Wgm IX31818)*, mov. I, Exposition - Harmonic and Melodic Material

1st subject group							
<i>Theme 1</i>	<i>Theme 2</i>	<i>Continuation</i>	<i>Bridge</i>		<i>Modulatory theme</i>	<i>Cont.</i>	<i>I-V⁷</i>
I				II = V/V			
Bar 1	11	15	19	26	27	31	39
Eb +						Bb +	

2nd subject group				
<i>Theme 1</i>		<i>Continuation</i>	<i>Quasi Cadenza</i>	<i>Closing cadential material</i>
I	vi	V I	V I	
40	44	48	56	64

The rhythmic construction of the movement is barely more interesting than its harmonic skeleton, though two insertion bars (bars 5 and 6) create an irregular rhythmic pattern to the first subject group, which also closes on an additional bar (bar 39), creating a finishing phrase of 5 bars. In the second group the sense of rhythmic drive derives from three three-bar phrases (bars 48-56), based on the second half of

theme I, used motivically, driving the music into the quasi cadenza at bars 57-63.

The motivic content is equally limited, the opening rhythmic gesture dominates much of the movement. This motif 1 first introduced in bars 1-2 is contrasted with motif 2 of bars 3-4. In bar 10 the triplet accompaniment is introduced (motif 3), which is reinterpreted as a melodic motif in bars 21-22. Groups of four slurred quavers that include a chromatic twist also appear in the first subject group prior to the modulatory material (bars 16-17). The modulatory material at bar 27 presents a new character, which is instantly combined with the opening gesture and presents the last introduction of new material. The second subject group and the conclusion of this exposition are made up entirely of motivic material from the first subject group.

Lacking in formal or melodic innovation, bereft of any musical surprises, this entirely competent movement is limited in its material construction and relies largely on repetition, literal or varied. As such, Capuzzi's quintets form a repertoire with countless others that were composed, bought and played in the late eighteenth century. The attraction, therefore, resides in features of this music that surface only partly in its constituent parts. A reconsideration of the exposition that pays attention to its surface effects highlights an element that springs out of the texture in performance. The exposition's most striking feature is undoubtedly the grand unison opening that combines two distinctly orchestral textures, the unifying *premier coup d'archet* and the orchestral unison. Both are described by Zaslaw and Spitzer as

compositional devices particularly associated with orchestral writing from the 1680s onwards, and both appear frequently throughout the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ Denoting unity, grandeur and power, these techniques belong to a palette of orchestral effects that are used increasingly to establish the orchestra as a self-certifying entity rather than merely an accompanist to singers and theatrical events. In their chapter "The Birth of Orchestration" Zaslaw and Spitzer imply that, certainly by the late eighteenth century, orchestral music is self-consciously distinct from other musics such as those of church and theatre.⁴⁸ Orchestral gestures of unity are therefore self-referential, denoting the grandeur and exuberance of a large orchestra rather than working as metaphors for an all-encompassing totalitarian power.

Whereas Capuzzi may have been intent on creating a grand sound at the beginning of his quintet, I wonder whether he was in fact relying purely on the associative powers of the orchestral machine. The use of unison passages is striking not only in this quintet, but throughout Capuzzi's set of six quintets. Unison is used at key points such as the beginning of movements, the beginning of the development section and the recapitulation. Frequently, a theme is stated in unison first, before a continuation or development ensues in parts. The Minuet of Quintet No.1 opens with a similarly grand unison gesture outlining the tonic chord in a threefold rhetorical statement across four bars, proclaimed at top volume. Here, the accent on the chord-outlining first

⁴⁷ John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); here Chapter 13: "The Birth of Orchestration," 436-506.

⁴⁸ Spitzer and Zaslaw, *Birth of the Orchestra*, 439.

beats is enhanced with a quick appoggiatura (Ex. 2). The statement is contrasted effectively, yet compositionally hardly eccentrically, when in a hushed duet the two violinists sing the same motif lyrically in a register an octave above the original statement. Each participant enters imitatively into the lyrical mode. Musically nothing, gesturally everything?



Example 2: A. Capuzzi. *String Quintet No.1 in Eb major*, (ii): *Minuet*

Example 2 (continued)



If imitation was Capuzzi's Minuet hobbyhorse, it is played out effectively in the second quintet (Ex. 3a), by juxtaposing canonic or imitative textures with unisons, thereby portraying the canon as a dissolution and the unison as completeness. A bold four-bar unison theme outlining the tonic chord of c minor dissolves into the not-so-sweet diminished harmony of bar 5 that is - albeit softly - played and commented upon by a dainty first violin turn, which gives a timid rejoicing to the resolved harmony of G major. Stated twice again, the pattern is repeated by using the less shrill subdominant (bars 9-12) before a four-bar cadential phrase provides the play-out. The second half states the theme in double canon above the stable bass line. In the Trio, the canonic idea is taken up again. Here, the Minuet's theme is converted into the brighter Eb major and the Trio dares singular entries from the start: from the top down each instrument gets its say in a series of canonic entries that unite into a cadence at bar 12 (Ex. 3b). In unison octaves, and not missing the chance of a repetition, the violins replay the theme (bars 13-14 and bars 15-16) and after a brief dissociation (bars 17-20) the violins realign to conclude the movement.

Saying it together and saying it again seem the key to compositional progress in this and many other movements (see Appendix II). Here, purpose and effect of the unison far exceed the allusion to orchestral grandeur, affecting vital social structures instead.

The image displays a musical score for a string quintet, specifically a minuet in c minor. The score is written for five staves, likely representing the five strings of a quintet. The key signature is c minor (three flats), and the time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into two systems. The first system begins with a forte (f) dynamic. The second system begins with a piano (p) dynamic. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings (f, p, sfz). The overall structure suggests a unison melody supported by harmonic accompaniment.

Example 3a: A. Capuzzi. String Quintet No.2 in c minor, (ii). Minuet

Example 3a (continued)

15

p



p

8

p

Example 3b: A. Capuzzi. String Quintet No.2 in c minor, (ii), Trio

Example 3b (continued)

The image displays two systems of musical notation, measures 16-23. Each system consists of five staves: two treble clefs (top two staves) and three bass clefs (bottom three staves). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). Measure 16 begins with a forte dynamic marking. The notation includes various note values, rests, and articulation marks. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of measure 23.

In her article "Texture as a Sign in Classic and Early Romantic Music" Janet Levy points out that "texture is thought of as the most immediately accessible variable of music" and that unison must be the most striking of these musical signs.⁴⁹ She argues that textures, although least discussed analytically perhaps because of their multifarious nature - depending as they do on other parameters such as melody and rhythm - often function as road maps to a given work,

⁴⁹ Janet Levy, "Texture as a Sign in Classic and Early Romantic Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35/3 (1982): 482-531. The quote appears in ft. 1, p. 482. The discussion of unison appears on pages 507-531.

signifying "where we are in a piece and what may or may not happen next."⁵⁰ She distinguishes contextual signs – textures that gain semiotic meaning within the self-referential system of a single piece – from conventional signs, in which a specific texture stands out as an intertextual signifier by appearing in a number of pieces, such as the *premier coup d'archet* in orchestral music. Secondly, conventional signs, she claims, often derive their meaning from a natural or meta-music.⁵¹ Music, according to Levy, is rooted in human behaviour, of which both solo and unison are natural aspects. Whereas the semantics of solos is established straightforwardly in western music to connote the voice of the individual, unisons are rooted in a pre-civilised, primordial humanity according to Levy's reading.⁵² Here, she juxtaposes the social model of the single person striving for individuality with an as-yet-unrationalised experience: the force of unanimity.⁵³ Unisons become signifiers, or rather compositional metaphors for the savage, purely because the intricacies of harmonic specification are absent. Here, the force of unison is created by a natural authority. The second striking instance of unison according to Levy is the heraldic unison, a compositional trope borrowed from the signalling trumpet fanfares of military bands. In particular, those

⁵⁰ Levy, "Texture as Sign," 482.

⁵¹ Levy, "Texture as Sign," 497: "Although many textural conventions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are culture-bound, it seems that, more than in other parameters, some conventions of textural usage may be rooted in primordial aspects of human experience."

⁵² In the following discussion I am interested only in total unison of all voices in any given passages; though this comprises instruments that unify in octaves, I am not concerned with unisons of two or more instruments going on simultaneously with other music. This definition of unison coincides with Janet Levy's.

⁵³ Levy, "Texture as Sign," 507.

unisons that stand at the beginning of the movement have this character. The semantic meaning is determined by association with a politically and socially enforced authority. Unison therefore is either a natural or a political authority that enforces unanimity and as such always denotes an imposed form of total control, a mode that suppresses individuality.

Problematically, Levy derives the semantics of unisons mostly from its use in operas (particularly Gluck's) and symphonies, yet applies its use within (canonic) chamber music of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As a result, her interpretations of unison in her case studies yield primarily syntactical meanings. Her semantic meanings rely on the imagined dialogue between composer and player/listener, in which the composer's text represents the reins around performers' and audience's necks, so that the composer pre-empts and controls experience. Although this makes the composer a great entertainer or educator, he functions by purely dictatorial means – the performer is numbed:

Indeed, the unison facilitates the chromatic motion that creates harmonic instability. Compare measures 76-79, the second presentation of the tune, with measures 83-86 (especially 83-84). The tune has quite literally lost its footing – its accompaniment pattern – and, as a result, its balance, too! It is as though the composer were suddenly taking the tune – and the listener/performer, as he identifies the tune – by the scruff of the neck.⁵⁴

It seems, in fact, that by using unison texture the composer has limited our ability to follow his compositional logic, as Levy continues:

⁵⁴ Levy, "Texture as Sign," 511.

the peremptory authority of the unison here is ordained by the very absence of any other action. Haydn has, so to speak, taken us over the "rough road" into Part II of the form.⁵⁵

Armin Raab presents a systematic study of the syntactical employment of unisons in Haydn's string quartets and masses.⁵⁶ He categorises the different syntactical applications into three main groups. Opening unisons are often the unified presentation of the first theme, whole or in part. The unison is usually employed to begin the movement with a bold statement of contrast between the unified tutti - often presented forte - and the ensuing continuation most often in a single voice, soloistically or with accompaniment, marked *piano*.⁵⁷ Closing unisons appear anywhere in the closing group of a sonata form movement and are often associated with a cadence, either whole or with the gesture preceding the final chords. Similarly, the unison can replace an affirmative cadence by replacing a categorical V-I chord progression in root position, with the emphatic, authoritative gestural sign. Often a cadential passage is introduced with a unison, or the entire closing group of a movement is opened with a unison statement. Another manner of employing unison in a closing function is to conclude a virtuosic passage with a unison statement or to require a group to play virtuosically in unison (see the quartets Op.71 No.2 and Op.76 No.4).⁵⁸ Finally, unisons that appear both in the second subject group and in the development often function as tonal pivots (as in

⁵⁵ Levy, "Texture as Sign," 512.

⁵⁶ Armin Raab, *Funktionen des Unisono dargestellt an den Streichquartetten und Messen von Joseph Haydn* (Frankfurt a.M.: Haag und Herchen, 1990).

⁵⁷ Raab, *Funktionen des Unisono*, 49-60.

⁵⁸ Raab, *Funktionen des Unisono*, 62-80.

Levy's example cited above) or have a bridge character.⁵⁹ Raab's readings of unisons in string quartets remain strictly syntactical, leaving any semantic interpretation to his examination of unisons in Haydn's masses, where the compositional choice of unison passages is directly influenced by key markers in the text such as the praise of divine omnipotence, the unity of faith and the Holy Trinity.⁶⁰

A brief glance at the use of unison in Mozart's chamber music and at the use of unison in my cross-section of string quintets offered to the Viennese music lover at the end of the eighteenth century (refer to Appendix II) confirms Raab's findings, both with regard to frequency as well as with respect to its purposeful syntactical employment within each movement. Both Raab and Levy see unison as a compositional tool used to represent authority and order. For Levy this order is specifically pre-rational. It is striking, however, that this compositional device is employed precisely in the musical repertoire designed for a public forum characterised by the cultivation of reason. Kirnberger (in Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie*) described chamber music's function as entertainment and "Übung":

(Music) serves as a mere pastime or as useful exercise through which composer and player can hone their sensitivities towards higher things, particularly when it is presented in concertos, trios, solos and sonatas.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Raab, *Funktionen des Unisono*, 80-90.

⁶⁰ Raab, *Funktionen des Unisono*, 170.

⁶¹ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 2: 678, § Instrumentalmusik: "Zum bloßen Zeitvertreib aber, oder auch als nützliche Uebungen, wodurch Setzer und Spiehler sich zu wichtigern Dingen geschikter machen, dienet sie, wenn sie Concerte, Trio, Solo, Sonaten und dergleichen hören läßt."

It would seem that here chamber music acts as preparation, compositionally and in terms of technical virtuosity for grander things, such as operas and church music. However, in light of Kirnberger's article on chamber music, this cannot be what he meant by "Uebungen zu wichtigern Dingen," for chamber music is in fact the most artistic composition:

Because chamber music is for connoisseurs and music lovers its pieces can be more learned and artful than those for public use; in the latter everything needs to be simpler and more singable so that everyone can grasp it. ...in chamber music one has to use fine expression, artful phrases and flawless counterpoint.⁶²

Heinrich Christoph Koch explained that this refinement also demands higher skills from the performers:

Because in chamber music the purpose of this art was directed at the private entertainment of the regent or his court, and because it was played in a room and with small forces, it meant that the older composers elaborated more in their chamber music; they added finer nuances and presupposed a higher degree of mechanical dexterity from their performers.⁶³

⁶² Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 1:441, § *Cammermusik*: "Da die Cammermusik für Kenner und Liebhaber ist, so können die Stücke gelehrter und künstlicher gesetzt sein, als die zum öffentlichen Gebrauch bestimmt sind, wo alles mehr einfach und cantabel seyn muß, damit jedermann es fasse... in der Cammermusik wird man sich des äusserst reinen Satzes, eines feinern Ausdrucks und künstlicherer Wendungen bedienen müssen." See also Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt a.M., 1802), facsimile reprint edn, ed. Nicole Schwindt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), Col. 821, § *Kammermusik*: "...so veranlaßten diese Umstände, daß die ältern Tonsetzer die Kunstprodukte für die Kammer mehr ausarbeiteten, feiner nuancierten, und mehr mechanische Fertigkeit der Ausfühler dabey voraussetzten."

⁶³ Koch, *Lexicon*, Col.821: "Weil bey der Kammermusik die Absicht der Kunst ... dahin gerichtet war ... zum Privatvergnügen des Regenten oder des Hofes zu dienen, und weil sie überdies nur in einem Zimmer und mit schwacher Besetzung der Instrumente aufgeführt wurde, so veranlaßten alle diese Umstände, dass die ältern Tonsetzer die Kunstprodukte für die Kammer mehr ausarbeiteten, feiner nuancierten, und mehr mechanische Fertigkeit der Ausfühler dabey voraussetzten."

We can deduce firstly that chamber music developed its own language apart from the orchestral language of the theatre, but also apart from the concerto and the symphony.⁶⁴ Secondly, this language or style reflected the demand for a "useful exercise" (nuetzliche Uebungen). What exactly is exercised here? If, according to Kirnberger, the players hone their technical skills for more relevant music, what would that music be, for he himself dismisses the virtuosity of the concerto? At the same time chamber music that reaches new levels of complexity has come under attack, as the famous review of Mozart's Haydn quartets illustrates:

his new Quartets for 2 violins, viola and bass, which he has dedicated to Haydn, may well be called too highly seasoned – and whose palate can endure this for long? Forgive this simile from the cookery book.⁶⁵

Presumably, the reviewer would have approved of the quintets by Hofmeister, Wranitzky, possibly even Capuzzi, whereas he criticised Mozart for overloading the performer and the listener. Therefore, the

⁶⁴ Mozart's letter to his father from Paris, written on the 3rd of July 1778, is just one example of these distinctions of genre: "Das Andante gefiel auch, besonders aber das letzte Allegro – weil ich hörte dass hier alle letzte Allegro wie die Ersten mit allen instrumenten zugleich und meistens unisono anfangen, so fieng ich's mit die 2 violin allein piano nur 8 tact an – darauf kam gleich ein forte – mit hin machten die zuhörer, wie ich's erwartete bey Piano sch – dann kamm gleich das forte – sie das forte hören, und die hände zu klatschen war eins – ich ging also gleich für freude nach der Sinfonie in Palais Royale – nahm ein guts gefornes". Otto E. Deutsch ed, *Mozart Briefe und Aufzeichnungen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962), II, 388-389.

⁶⁵ Cramer's "Magazin der Musik", Hamburg, 23 April 1787, quoted from Otto E. Deutsch, *Mozart: A Documentary Biography*, trans. Eric Bloom, Peter Branscombe and Jeremy Noble (London, Sydney, New York, Tokyo, Singapore, Toronto: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 290; In a letter to Artaria written on 18.8.1788, Dittersdorf described Mozart's music as too taxing for most: "(Mozart's string quartets)... because of their unrelenting, extreme artfulness are not everyone's purchase." Quoted from Eva Badura-Skoda, ed., *Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1739-1799): Six Symphonies* (New York, 1985).

objective of chamber music as exercise can be neither virtuosic playing nor ever more intricate compositional understanding.

In this body of practical music, gestures such as the unison instead may point to an extra-syntactical meaning and must therefore be read as tropes. Sulzer explains:

Every trope has something in common with a sign. From the image that it invokes immediately something else has to be deduced, so that the first is similar to a sign of the second. From this we can deduce several useful comments. The signs must be comprehensible and not too far fetched; they must be borrowed from things that are common knowledge, not from a special walk of life, and certainly not from those that only the fewest people are engaged with; but it must be of those that contain something to revere, something noble. From the effects of nature, from national concerns, from general human endeavours, from the arts and sciences, which are both general and noble.⁶⁶

Tropes inspire the imagination and they enact their signification through the power of the imagination. Most commonly, tropes work rationally by equating a signified with a signifier that characterises its object more than describing it. In music, this rational use of tropes is found in the development of a topical language: using orchestral tropes such as the unison at once distinguishes chamber music from orchestral music only if the player/listener is astute enough to

⁶⁶ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 4:606, § Tropus: "Jeder Tropus hat etwas ähnliches mit einem Zeichen. Denn aus der Vorstellung, die er unmittelbar erweckt, muß eine andre hervorgebracht werden, so, daß die erste einigermaßen das Zeichen der andern ist. Aus dieser Vorstellung lassen sich verschiedene nützliche Anmerkungen herleiten. Die Zeichen müssen verständlich, auch nicht gar zu weit hergesucht seyn; sie müssen von Dingen hergenommen seyn, die allgemein bekannt sind, nicht aus Gegenständen einer besondern Lebensart, am allerwenigsten aus solchen, womit allein die geringste Classe der Menschen sich beschäftigt, sondern aus solchen, die etwas schätzbares, etwas edles haben; aus den Wirkungen der Natur, aus Nationageschäften, aus allgemeinen menschlichen Verrichtungen, aus Künsten und Wissenschaften, die etwas allgemeines und edles haben."

recognise the trope for what it is. The artistry and exercise of chamber music therefore could lie solely in the rational recognition of a topical language derived both from extra-musical and from internal tropes. However, if recognising a unison opening as a statement of unanimity and as a reference to a grand orchestral opening was all it took to be a "Kenner," connoisseurship would not be hard to come by.

Rather, we have to add a more nuanced connoisseurship: if we recall music's emotional and physiological force it suggests itself that chamber music's exercise lies in the feelings it inspires. The precise location of unisons within the acted movement could give us an indication that the unison has a role quite contrary to symbolizing (to the listener) the primordial, natural force that Levy suggested. In fact, playing in unison requires the most precision, skill and discipline from all involved. Therefore, the unison can be at once a challenge to the "common goal" (Sonnenfels' common good) whilst functioning to rein in individualism. Unison, in late eighteenth-century chamber music, I propose, denotes the willing subjugation under a common incentive, rather than a superimposed force. As the rest of the movement plays out a variety of affiliations between the players and gives precedence to one or the other, the unisons function as points of assembly and agreement. They act like tropes that gain their potency through music's forceful sensual impact. As such, they are not metaphors for a social meaning, but they present a social act by forcing the musicians into acting out this very act, thereby experiencing it sensually.

5. Opening Unisons

Opening a movement with a tutti unison is a strong statement of unanimity – by engaging in the act each member performs not only the same level of involvement, but also states a willingness to participate in an ensuing act that will carry certain rules. The gesture functions like an opening ritual akin to the reverence by which a couple opened a courtly dance or to the Masonic handshake, but it also means that each participant states to himself and the others the rules of the game, i.e. the metre and the key of the music ahead – the most basic regulation in order for the game to be playable. In Capuzzi's Quintet No.1 this unison opening is an action in itself that does not denote anything beyond its immediate action. The opening motif does not serve to carry the movement further, it does not constitute the main melodic material, and therefore has no direct syntactical function that impacts the rest of the movement; in fact, this syntactical function is taken over by the second half of the opening statement played initially by the violas in thirds. However, the first violinist suddenly recalls the extra-curricular opening statement in bar 10. Here, only its rhythmic structure is stated by a single player in a *piano* dynamic, so that the first violinist's song sounds like a reminiscence of the opening unanimity. The freedom of the solo song, thereby, is dominated by the echo of the group's opening mutual agreement - the first violin's solo song is infused with the reminiscence of the strongest possible statement of group allegiance (see Example 1).

The unison opening, deliberately placed outside of the movement's syntax has a clear performative function: it presents a

social act through its sensual enactment as the players feel the opening unity. During the 1950s the language philosopher John L. Austin formed the basis for the theory of speech acts by distinguishing similar statements in language as *performative* acts, which he set apart from *constatives*.⁶⁷ Whereas constatives signify a meaning by describing an action, performatives, according to Austin, are the action itself. In language statements such as the marriage vow "I do," the act of uttering is both action and meaning, because the act is fulfilled, not simply described through the utterance of the words. Similarly, the unison opening in Capuzzi's Quintet No.1 is the act of unanimity rather than describing it. The players do not describe anything about the forthcoming movement, nor do they describe or promise agreement, which could translate musically into the imitation of a theme by another player. Here, they simply perform the act of agreement.

The hammering first beat of the Adagio in Eb major of Capuzzi's Quintet IV (iii) which sounds, looks and feels like a grand or comical spin-off of the *premier coup d'archet* – five bows bouncing dramatically in reverberation of the opening downbeat - a *performative* here - similarly returns later in the movement and functions as a social motif. The inaugurating act of communality still resounds in the listeners' ears and the players' arms as the five actors scale down to a unison *piano* that dissolves into four-part harmony out of which the cellist emerges with a lyrical response that the others sound out

⁶⁷ John Langshaw Austin, *How to do things with words*, Lecture Series 1955 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961).

empathetically, nodding if not their heads, then their bows (bar 5).⁶⁸ Although this sequence of actions is recalled in bar 15, the opening strike does not yet function motivically in the formal structure of the movement. Lured into the dominant by the cellist, the first violinist, clearly unconvinced and responding with chromatic meanderings (especially bars 23-25), is unable to retract the modulation, and instead leads the group back to their statement of agreement (b.29). For the next ten bars the first violinist and the cellist guide the group through a variety of harmonies in a juxtaposition of two-part counterpoint in contrary motion with the hammering collective figure. Whereas the harmonic sequence here is *constative*, referring backwards and leading onwards, the rhythmic gestures are *performatives*. In the absence of their developmental treatment, these gestures don't guarantee the expected return to the tonic nor are they designed to assure that the movement is in keeping with general rules of composition (voice-leading). Their meaning lies solely in the act of joining forces to answer and affirm each step the leader takes, thereby exercising the collaboration between unanimous force of the masses and knowledgeable guidance (Example 4).

⁶⁸ In bar 1, the rhythmic discrepancy between the cello and all other parts is rooted in the consideration for the lower sonorities of the cello and its slower response, particularly pertinent due to the still common use of unwound gut D strings in the 1780s.

Measures 1-5 of the musical score. The score is for a string quintet in B-flat major, 4/4 time. It features five staves: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. The music begins with a forte (f) dynamic and a piano (p) dynamic. The first staff has a 'solo' marking at the end of the fifth measure.

Measures 6-10 of the musical score. The score continues with five staves. The music features a variety of dynamics including forte (f), piano (p), and fortissimo (ff). The first staff has a 'for' marking at the beginning of the sixth measure.

Measures 11-15 of the musical score. The score continues with five staves. The music features a variety of dynamics including forte (f), piano (p), and fortissimo (ff). The first staff has a 'for' marking at the beginning of the eleventh measure.

Example 4: A. Capuzzi String Quintet No.4 in Bb major, (iii). Adagio

Example 4 (continued)

16

solo

p

21

p

mf

f

p

27

f

p

f

p

Example 4 (continued)

The musical score for Example 4 (continued) spans measures 32 to 35. It is written for a string quartet (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass) in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. The score is characterized by a strong unison in the lower strings (Cello and Double Bass) and a more complex, rhythmic pattern in the upper strings (Violins and Viola). Dynamics are marked as forte (f) and piano (p). The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

In the much simpler, more economical Minuets and Trios the unison opening regularly double-functions as *performative* and *constative*, being both action and material for the ensuing movement (compare Examples 3a and 3b), a practice that is unusual in the outer movements.

Kospath's Quintet No.4 in A major opens with a brisk upward sweep outlining the tonic chord in unison, which the first violin spins a little further than all others, immediately stating her ruling position. She is reined back into the group as the first viola enters into a canonic play of her initial gambit (Example 5a). That the opening unison is but a prefatory remark to the form of the movement is clarified by its reappearance as a frame that concludes the opening theme (bar 12) whilst failing to materialise again during the continuation or development; more pertinently, the recapitulation starts with theme I proper (bar 82), not with the opening statement (Example 5b), which is only recalled to round off theme I again (bar 89). Musically mundane, this opening gesture – akin to a grand overture opening that is designed to catch the audience's attention – gathers the players into a tight community and engages them in a physiological as well as sensual "Bewegung" of strength and unity. Here, the powers of association (to an orchestra) are combined with the *Gemütsbewegung* instigated by the physical act of this communal upbeat gesture.

Allegro Moderato

8

14

Example 5a: O.C.E. Kospoth, *String Quintet No.4 in A major*, (i), Exposition

Example 5a (continued)

20

p

25

29

p

f

f

f

Example 5a (continued)

53

f *ff*

40

p *p* *p*

44

f *f* *f* *f*

The image displays a musical score for a string quintet, specifically measures 80 through 93 of the first movement (i) of the Recapitulation section. The score is written for five staves, representing the Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. The key signature is A major (three sharps: F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 4/4. The music features a variety of textures and dynamics. Measures 80-86 show a complex interplay of melodic lines with dynamic markings of *p* (piano) and *f* (forte). Measures 87-92 introduce a section marked *dolce* (sweetly) with a *p* dynamic, characterized by more lyrical and flowing lines. The final measure (93) returns to a more rhythmic and active texture. The notation includes numerous slurs, ties, and articulation marks to guide the performer.

Example 5b: O.C.E. Kospoth, *String Quintet No.4 in A major, (i), Recapitulation*

Example 5b (continued)

90

Measures 90-95 of the musical score. The score is in 2/4 time with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The music features a complex interplay between the five staves. Measures 90-94 show a steady flow of eighth and sixteenth notes in the upper staves, while the lower staves provide harmonic support with chords and moving lines. Measure 95 begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic marking.

105

Measures 105-110 of the musical score. Measures 105-109 continue the melodic and harmonic development. Measure 110 introduces a piano (*p*) dynamic marking. The texture remains dense with active lines in all staves.

110

Measures 110-115 of the musical score. Measures 110-114 continue the piece. Measure 115 features a trill (*tr*) in the upper staff and a forte (*f*) dynamic marking. The final measure shows a continuation of the rhythmic patterns.

Example 5b (continued)

The musical score for Example 5b (continued) spans measures 115 to 120. It is written for five staves in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. Measures 115-119 contain various melodic and harmonic patterns, with dynamic markings 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte) indicating changes in volume. Measure 120 shows a final cadence with a strong emphasis on the tonic Bb.

The opening gesture of the following example - Zimmermann's Quintet No.5 in Bb major - states the correlation between tonic harmony and unison explicitly by concluding the unison as soon as the tonic chord has been outlined, paving the way for the violinists to spin the gesture into a melodic theme. Overlapping with the final note of this little theme – the tonic Bb – the lower four players restate their unanimity, thereby placing the trill figuration onto the strongest beat

of the bar again – a reinstatement or perhaps rather reassurance of order (Example 6).



Example 6: A. Zimmermann, *String Quintet No. 5 in Bb major*, (i)

Mozart opens the second movement of his quintet K 174 with a similarly self-reflexive phrase, albeit in complete unison. Unusually, the unison is performed *piano* by the muted string players outlining a contemplative I-ii-vii-I harmonic figure, which is repeated verbatim in the expected *forte* dynamic by the second violinist and the first violist, while the first violin proclaims an insistent theme characterised by syncopations. The rising figures of the opening unison form questioning gestures that stand in contrast to the affirmative action of the sounding unity, while the emphatic affirmation appears only once the opening figure accompanies the first violinist's song. Again, the opening two bars function like a prefatory stage whisper, the chorus members running across the stage to position themselves still in darkness in order to enlighten us a short moment later (Example 7).

Adagio
con sordini
pp

con sordini
pp

con sordini
pp

con sordini
pp

sempre piano
f

Example 7: W.A. Mozart, *String Quintet K 174*, (ii)

Wenzel Pichl unites the players in a simple ornamentation of the tonic note in the first gesture of his Quintet No.1 (Example 8). Following a general pause, the violins play a simplified version of this unison statement, a gesture that is weakened by starting on the offbeat, as if the players suddenly decided to jump onto the bandwagon. In a threefold rhetorical structure the two statements are now followed by a second full unison repeating the opening in a key

that remains unspecified. The statement almost ridicules the safety of the opening by revealing its false pretences: the utmost stability of the key has turned into a question of harmony, whilst simultaneously the players raise their voices to a slightly higher pitch. As exceptions prove the rule, conventions gain their most forceful recognition - in fact they enter into their true status as a convention - when they are distorted. Pichl subverts the opening unison convention in his second quintet (Example 9): outlining the chord of A major, the second note, Bb, leaves no doubt as to the harmonic status of this A major gesture. Whereas the unison, the chordal outline and the dotted rhythms – a trope that, associated with the French overture style, must necessarily evoke orchestral associations – mark the rule-stating and rule-agreeing opening ritual, the rather curious, yet nevertheless indisputable statement of the harmony engages the players in a game of chase from the beginning.



Example 8: W. Pichl, String Quintet No.1, (i)

Example 9: W. Pichl, String Quintet No.2, (i)

Example 9: W. Pichl, String Quintet No.2, (i)

Though far rarer, the tutti unison is occasionally called upon to conclude a movement, or even a whole quintet. Here, the gesture is employed in a coda that typically does not recall the movement's proceedings, but simply acts out an affirmative ending.⁶⁹ Capuzzi concludes his second quintet with a seventeen-bar coda, half of which is characterised by the fortissimo quavers with which the cellist assures that no one can miss the final return to the tonic, whilst the other strings alternate tonic and dominant harmonies. Finally, the first violinist elaborates these with a figure that has not been heard anywhere in the movement before, though its ornamental design on the second half of the bar perhaps recalls the characteristic semiquaver and quaver figure of the first theme. Still, if this association is made, it is but a faint one, and the violinist plays its recall at half the speed. Rather, the figure – at once melodic and harmonic – inspires the other players to chime in (bar 115) and - with unified forces in a descending reiteration of the figure - to conclude the movement (Example 10).

⁶⁹ The idea that the Coda is always necessarily performative is hinted at in Joseph Kerman, "Notes on Beethoven's Codas," in *Beethoven Studies* 3, ed. A. Tyson (Cambridge, 1982), 141-59 and in Peter Cahn, "Aspekte der Schlußgestaltung in Beethovens Instrumentalwerken," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 39/1 (1982): 19-31.

103

107

111

Example 10: A. Capuzzi, *String Quintet No.2*, (iv), 100-119

Example 10 (continued)



Whereas the conclusion of Mozart's K 406 (i), his own arrangement of the wind serenade K 388, seems like an all-too-literal transcription of a trumpet and drum trope that functions topically when transferred to the string quintet, the opening presents the typical broad and proud statement of the harmonic state of affairs.



Example 11a: W.A. Mozart, String Quintet K 406, (i)

227

Oboe I

Oboe II

Clarinetto I in Sib

Clarinetto II in Sib

Corno I, II in Mib

Fagotto I

Fagotto II

p sf p sf p sf f

p sf p sf p sf f

p sf p sf p sf f

p sf p sf p sf f

p sf p sf p sf f

p sf p sf p sf f

p sf p sf p sf f

Example 11b: W.A. Mozart, *Wind Serenade K 388*, (i)

Michael Haydn concludes the first movement of his quintet in C major in a similarly topical manner with a unison upward *tirade*, an orchestral gesture most commonly employed to open rather than to conclude.⁷⁰ Within the movement, however, the *tirade* has built up its own frame of reference. Appearing for the first time at the end of the first theme group, the figure is associated with the unison at the precise point in the movement where much has already been said and the floor is open for discussion. The highly suggestive opening and conclusion of bars 17-20 prolong the simple harmonic step to the tonic in a seemingly superfluous statement which is, however, of great performative effect (Example 12). The *tirade* combined with unison is called upon at various of these gathering points (compare bars 38-39, 217-218, 221-222), but its elements are increasingly torn apart as the

⁷⁰ Zaslaw and Spitzer, *Birth of the Orchestra* (2005), 451-453.

unison is temporally and hence spatially dispelled (bars 217-218) and is finally harmonised (bars 221-222).

Allegro

The musical score is for M. Haydn's String Quintet in C, (i), bars 1-40. It is written for five staves: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/8. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The score is divided into three systems. The first system (bars 1-13) features a forte (f) dynamic. The second system (bars 14-26) includes trills (tr) in the Violin I, Violin II, and Cello parts. The third system (bars 27-40) continues the musical development. The score is presented in a clear, professional layout with standard musical notation.

Example 12: M. Haydn, String Quintet in C, (i), bars 1-40

Example 12 (continued)



Unison is used frequently as the starting point to an expected period of disarray at the beginning of developments, as if the players want to remind themselves of their agreement upon rules one last time before embarking on the discussion proper. Capuzzi opens the development of Quintet I (i) with a recall of the opening unison by borrowing its rhythmic and triadic features, now stating the Tonic, turned minor, turned into a diminished 7th chord landing on the Supertonic major. Here, stability and instability are fused as the actors communally walk out onto thin ice as if to say "we are in this together" (Example 13a). Zimmermann's Quintet VII (i) plays a similar, albeit less drastic game. Having reversed the tonic-dominant relationship at the end of the exposition by concluding with an open statement in form of a plagal cadence (IV-I) which has the effect of an imperfect cadence (I-V), the development opens with a forte statement outlining g minor, not G major (Example 13b).



Example 13a: A. Capuzzi, *Quintet No.1*, (i), *beginning of development*



Example 13 b: A. Zimmermann, *Quintet No.7*, (i), *end of exposition and beginning of development*

Capuzzi's *Quintet No.2* (iv) might be one of the clearest *performatives* to open a development section. Instead of recalling the opening theme, Capuzzi uses the accompaniment figure of the beginning of the movement – a bar of pounding quavers – to open a development that suspends the players immediately between the two key areas E-flat major and c minor (Example 14). During this syntactically unstable point, the players betray their knowledge of this syntactic function in a last communal gesture. Players and listeners are on the outside and the

inside at the same time, creating the pleasurable feeling of knowing the trick, of being teased, yet remaining in charge.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a string quintet, measures 39 through 61. Each system consists of five staves: two violins (top), two violas (middle), and a cello/bass (bottom). The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. Measure numbers 39, 43, and 47 are indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. The notation includes various musical symbols such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings. A forte (*f*) marking appears in measure 43, and a piano (*p*) marking appears in measure 47. The score shows a complex interplay of melodic lines and rhythmic patterns across the instruments.

Example 14: A. Capuzzi, *String Quintet No.2*, (iv), 39-61

Example 14 (continued)

The image displays a musical score for a five-part ensemble, consisting of two staves for treble clef instruments (likely flutes or violins), two staves for alto/bass clef instruments (likely oboes or violas), and a single bass staff (likely cello or double bass). The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into two systems. The first system, labeled '52' at the beginning, contains measures 52 through 56. The second system, labeled '57' at the beginning, contains measures 57 through 61. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, beams, and slurs, indicating a complex melodic and harmonic structure. The ensemble appears to be playing in unison for much of the passage, particularly in the first system.

The unanimity reflected by unison passages - and indeed acted out and, therefore, felt by the players - frequently serves as a gathering point, particularly during the long outer movements in sonata form.⁷¹ In K 406 (i) Mozart introduces a unison theme in order to prolong the relative major Eb, before the second subject group starts with a lyrical tune. Following six bars of increasing harmonic instability culminating on an augmented sixth chord Mozart gathers his players in a military

⁷¹ By virtue of its structure a Rondo finale offers enough gathering points.

theme, at once stable in its rhythmic gestures and its unison, whilst not quite recovering harmonically as the chord notes are displaced. Still, the passage is an affirmative action and interprets the preceding augmented sixth as a Neapolitan to the new dominant, Bb (Example 15).

The musical score is for a string quintet in B-flat major, 3/4 time. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system (measures 22-27) features a forte (f) dynamic in measures 22-24, followed by a piano (p) dynamic in measures 25-27. The second system (measures 28-32) features a piano (p) dynamic in measure 28, followed by a forte (f) dynamic in measures 29-31, and a piano (p) dynamic in measure 32. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Example 15: W.A. Mozart, String Quintet K 406, (i), 22-45

Example 15 (continued)

The musical score for Example 15 (continued) spans measures 33 to 40. The key signature is G major (one sharp, F#). The time signature is 3/4. The score is written for five staves: two treble clefs and three bass clefs. Measures 33-39 are characterized by rapid, intricate passages, often with sixteenth and thirty-second notes beamed together. Dynamic markings include 'sf' (sforzando) and 'p' (piano). Measure 40 shows a change in texture with more sustained notes and a 'p' marking.

In the final Presto of his Quintet in G major Michael Haydn engages the players in unison statements in order to conclude phrases and set a caesura after extended virtuosic passages (Examples 16 a, b and c). In example a), the unison performs two purposes; it at once affirms the force of unanimity and at the same time reins in the first violin, who has spun off on her own. In example b), the first violin seems like a precocious child; not reined in by her companions, she comes to a stand-still before tentatively re-engaging with the second violin in order to bring about a satisfactory conclusion. The unanimous

force – albeit in thirds, not in unison – chimes in three bars later to finish the exposition in bar 66, but the gesture has created a force that tumbles the players into the repeat. The unisons in example c) serve similar purposes; however, the typically overactive first violinist is not to be brought to a hold. The final unison (bar 182) signals an end without actually ending, enticing the players into the witty little coda, that – once again – plays with the leading and following paradigms that the off-beat accompaniment grants.

a)

Presto

7

Example 16: M. Haydn, *String Quintet in G major*, (iv), a) 1-34, b) 54-67, c) 169-184

Example 16 (continued)

13

p

p

p

p

p

19

f

f

f

f

f

25

f

f

f

f

f

Example 16 (continued)

29

29

b)

54

f *sim.*

f *sim.*

f *sim.*

f

f

59

59

60

61

62

p

p

Example 16 (continued)

63

cresc. *f*

c)

169

sim

175

p

Example 16 (continued)

The juxtaposition of unison with soloistic statements performs the mediation between the individual and the group. Here, individual interest is plotted against the common good; individual freedom is permitted as long as it either leads the other members of the group or entertains them. In these quintets soloistic display is tightly controlled. In Capuzzi's Quintet I (i), the first violin enthusiastically takes up the melodic idea introduced by the cellist in bar 51, but this functions as a springboard for an animated surge to the Bb an octave above. The violin is left in the lurch in the eighth position on the E string, inspiring the rest of the group to enter three octaves lower, bringing her down to earth as she finds her way back into the group on e' (see Example 1, bar 61). For the violinist this is a daring leap, but one that lands in the safe haven of first position.⁷²

⁷² Haydn uses this device frequently to great effect, see f.ex. Op.9 No.2, Adagio and Op.9 No.3, Moderato.

In K 593 (iv), Mozart reintroduces the chromatic first theme in bar 37, after a rounded binary opening.⁷³ Recalling the theme here momentarily gives the impression of a Rondo and its function is a similar one. The opening figure is restated as a reminder, before the players repeat it in the relative minor. The unison in the tonic once again forms an alliance between the players that hones their unanimity before executing the modulation to the dominant key. In fact, the entire passage preceding the second subject group beginning in bar 54 appears like a conscious narration of the harmonic requirements of the form. "Here," the players say, "we leave the tonic key to modulate to the dominant, which we affirm by forcefully stating its dominant, E major." The acted form is framed by two unisons, one recalling the opening theme, the other outlining the secondary Dominant, now Dominant (Example 17). The narrative here almost recalls the device of Romantic Irony, a technique employed by the composer to call attention to the formal conventions of a particular narrative or genre, thereby foregrounding its artificiality as a narrative traditionally designed to delude. Here, the musical narrative shifts the players' knowledge centre-stage, which in turn influences the perception of the following fugal passages. The first violinist tests the waters, gradually followed by the others in descending order – each one awaiting their proper turn. Isn't this a little too literal in compositional terms not to be intended as a joke for and with the players, who even without a score can hardly fail to be in the know? But in contrast to

⁷³ Mozart recomposed this theme, for a detailed account of its two different versions see Thomas A. Irvine, *Echoes of Expression*, Ph.D. diss, Cornell University, 2005.

Romantic Irony, here the form is employed not to tear reader, listener and player out of a world of illusion. Rather, the gestures are used to make them feel the form and thereby experience its abstractions first hand.

The musical score is presented in five systems, each with five staves. The first system (measures 37-43) is marked *f* (forte). The second system (measures 44-50) features trills marked *tr*. The third system (measures 51-56) is marked *p* (piano). The score includes various musical notations such as trills, slurs, and dynamic markings.

Example 17: W.A. Mozart, *String Quintet K 593*, (iv), 37-69

Example 17 (continued)

The musical score for Example 17 (continued) spans measures 59 to 64. It is written in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The score consists of five staves: two treble clefs and three bass clefs. Measures 59-63 show complex interplay with trills (tr), accents (^), and piano (p) markings. Measure 64 is a final measure with a trill in the third bass staff.

Unisons are frequently juxtaposed with the virtuosic expansions executed by one player, as we have seen in Capuzzi's Quintet No.I (i). Just as the group can rein in individuality, it can also be the springboard for a single person taking matters in hand. Franz Krommer's Quintet in c minor opens with a two-bar unison that consists of two gestural statements: an opening drum beat and a rising scale in alternating quavers and semiquaver pairs (Example 18). The opening strokes are immediately transformed into both accompaniment and thematic material in *piano* leading to a close with

a *forte* harmonised reiteration of the opening bar that is extended to finish with a perfect cadence (bar 6). The next four bars form the second phrase of this eight-bar period, so that the eight-bar theme (4 plus 4) extends from bar 2 beat 3 to bar 10 beat 2. The second, as yet unused part of the unison now returns, thereby forming a frame around the theme, standing outside of it as a mental and actional pillar. The first violinist reiterates the phrase an octave higher, evoking an instantaneous and violent response from the group (bar 12). For the moment this reaction, rather than the rising scale, gains motivic significance (see bars 14, 16, 17) and alternates with the beating quaver figure. However, the rising scale has become a rhetorical device that calls attention to the unity by juxtaposing it with a quizzical individuality (bar 29-35) until it is combined with it in an almost comical gesture by the cellist, who turns the question on its head; falling rather than rising, he makes an affirmative statement, which leads to a dialogue between him and the first violinist. The conversation is concluded with another unison, moving the whole group to a new harmony (bar 40-41). The initially *performative* element gradually reveals its *constative* implications, negotiating between formal significance and performance action. This process places the players at the conscious forefront not only of musical expression, but of interaction. In the act of playing, the meaning of this opening passage lies less in the associative powers of the opening drum beat or in the emotive powers of the stuttering and sighing first theme, than in the act of negotiating among themes and motifs, thereby affirming one's awareness and social integration.

Allegro con brio

The musical score is for a string quintet, consisting of five staves. The tempo is marked 'Allegro con brio'. The key signature has two flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor). The time signature is 4/4. The score is divided into three systems. The first system contains bars 1-5, the second system contains bars 6-10, and the third system contains bars 11-15. The score includes various dynamic markings: *ff* (fortissimo) at the beginning of the first system, *p* (piano) and *f* (forte) throughout, and *sfz* (sforzando) in the third system. There are also repeat signs at the beginning of bar 11 and at the end of bar 15.

Example 18: F. Krommer, *String Quintet No.1*, (i), bars 1-42

Example 18 (continued)

This musical score, labeled 'Example 18 (continued)', spans measures 17 to 27. It is written for a five-staff ensemble in a key with two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes various dynamic markings such as *fp* (fortissimo piano), *pp* (pianissimo), *p* (piano), and *f* (forte), as well as a trill (*tr*) in measure 20. The score features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The first system (measures 17-21) shows a complex interplay of dynamics, with *fp* and *pp* markings appearing in different parts. The second system (measures 22-26) continues this complexity, with *fp* and *pp* markings. The third system (measures 27-31) introduces *f* and *p* dynamics. The score concludes with a final measure (measure 31) featuring a *f* dynamic marking.

Example 18 (continued)

This musical score is for Example 18 (continued), spanning measures 32 to 40. It is written for a five-staff ensemble in a key of two flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor) and a 3/4 time signature. The score is divided into three systems of five staves each.

System 1 (Measures 32-36):

- Measure 32:** The first staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic. The second staff has a rest. The third and fourth staves have a forte (*f*) dynamic. The fifth staff has a rest.
- Measure 33:** The first staff has a forte (*f*) dynamic. The second staff has a forte (*f*) dynamic. The third and fourth staves have a forte (*f*) dynamic. The fifth staff has a forte (*f*) dynamic.
- Measure 34:** The first staff has a forte (*f*) dynamic. The second staff has a forte (*f*) dynamic. The third and fourth staves have a forte (*f*) dynamic. The fifth staff has a forte (*f*) dynamic.
- Measure 35:** The first staff has a forte (*f*) dynamic. The second staff has a forte (*f*) dynamic. The third and fourth staves have a forte (*f*) dynamic. The fifth staff has a forte (*f*) dynamic.
- Measure 36:** The first staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic. The second staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic. The third and fourth staves have a piano (*p*) dynamic. The fifth staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic.

System 2 (Measures 37-39):

- Measure 37:** The first staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic. The second staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic. The third and fourth staves have a piano (*p*) dynamic. The fifth staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic.
- Measure 38:** The first staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic. The second staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic. The third and fourth staves have a piano (*p*) dynamic. The fifth staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic.
- Measure 39:** The first staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic. The second staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic. The third and fourth staves have a piano (*p*) dynamic. The fifth staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic.

System 3 (Measures 40-41):

- Measure 40:** The first staff has a forte (*f*) dynamic. The second staff has a forte (*f*) dynamic. The third and fourth staves have a forte (*f*) dynamic. The fifth staff has a forte (*f*) dynamic.
- Measure 41:** The first staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic. The second staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic. The third and fourth staves have a piano (*p*) dynamic. The fifth staff has a piano (*p*) dynamic.

Although homophonic passages can function like unisons, they do not require the same precision from the players and as a result do not create as profound a feeling of unanimity. Gyrowetz entices the players into a fabulous example of precision and unanimity in the slow introduction to his Quintet in C major. A three-fold rhetorical statement alternating first violin with second viola - whilst the intermediary players hold forth the metre in pulsating semiquavers - culminates in a *forte* unison *tirade*, which fans out into a rhythmic structure that demands the utmost sense of pulse in order to negotiate between individuality and cohesion (Example 19).

The image displays a musical score for a string quintet, specifically the slow introduction to A. Gyrowetz's Quintet in C major. The score is presented on five staves, which are grouped into three systems. The first system consists of the first violin (top staff), the second violin (second staff), and the first viola (third staff). The second system consists of the second viola (fourth staff) and the first cello (fifth staff). The third system consists of the second cello (sixth staff) and the double bass (seventh staff). The music is in C major and features a three-fold rhetorical statement. The first two systems are marked 'sf' (forte) and feature a 'tirade' structure. The third system is marked 'sf' and features a 'tirade' structure. The music is characterized by pulsating semiquavers and a strong sense of pulse.

Example 19: A. Gyrowetz, *String Quintet in C major*, (i), 14-20

Example 19 (continued)

An extension of the grand unison in regard to its concentrated collectivity is the coupling of voices, either in unison, octaves or in thirds or sixths, especially in those instances where the statements made are ornamental or particularly rhetorical. The Finale to Zimmermann's Quintet No.8 is a case in point. The *premier coup d'archet* is juxtaposed with an ornamental flourish played in tandem. Quite apart from requiring good co-ordination and an immediate sense of pulse, this flourish reveals itself to belong to a language of florid individuality in the ensuing theme beginning in bar 5 (Example 20a). The moment of concentrated interaction is recalled in a curiously superfluous two-bar insert between the exposition and the development (Example 20b).

a)

Example 20: A. Zimmermann String Quintet No.8 in G major, (iii), a) 1-17,
b) end of exposition

Example 20 (continued)

A musical score for a piano piece, continuing from Example 20. The score is written for five staves: two treble clefs (soprano and alto) and three bass clefs (tenor, left hand, and right hand). The key signature is one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked 'p' (piano). The score consists of 10 measures. The first four measures show a complex texture with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The last two measures show a more simplified texture with longer notes and rests. The score is marked with 'pp' (pianissimo) in the fifth measure.



b)

A musical score for a piano piece, continuing from Example 20. The score is written for five staves: two treble clefs (soprano and alto) and three bass clefs (tenor, left hand, and right hand). The key signature is one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked 'p' (piano). The score consists of 10 measures. The first four measures show a complex texture with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The last two measures show a more simplified texture with longer notes and rests. The score is marked with 'pp' (pianissimo) in the fifth measure.

6. Gestures of Individuality: Triplets, Passage Work and Repeated Quavers

Capuzzi's exposition to his Quintet No.1 is permeated with couplings in octaves, thirds and sixths, so that it is mostly reduced to a three- and at most four-part texture and we could almost strip away at least one of the instruments. Clearly, composing for five instruments was inspired less by the desire to create the most contrast and finesse in engaging five voices, than by the impulse to engage five players. The following diagram charts the groupings of the players: where individuals share the same colour they also share a social function; where a colour appears more than once it represents re-used musical material (refer also to musical Example 1).

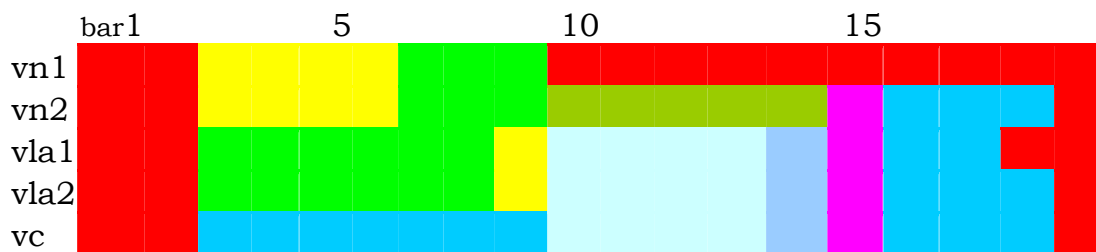


Figure 2: A. Capuzzi, *String Quintet No.1, (i), Exposition* – Diagram of Player Groupings

The changing affiliations between the players, thus revealed, call into the question the far-too-easily-applied idea of dialogue in chamber music. Rather than dialogue, which would entail question and answer, this diagram indicates interactions that are based on the dichotomy of

simultaneity and diversity. Individuality is embedded in the strata of interaction in the form of virtuosic, often typically violinistic phrases. This individuality is often exercised outside of the strict themes and it frequently announces itself as stepping outside of the rules: the most common feature of soloistic passage work in these works is the sequence of triplets in an otherwise stable common time movement. In Capuzzi No.1,(i) the first lyrical melody is accompanied by triplets in the second violin, which are taken up by the first violin after the restatement of unanimity (bars19-21). Triplet passages almost always appear soloistically, indicating that here the moment of freedom has come.

Although triplets appear as an ornamental and variation topic throughout eighteenth-century music, the specific technical demand on the violinist predestines triplet passages as a trope for individuality. Leopold Mozart devotes an entire chapter of his violin school to triplets. The chapter is mostly devoted to different bowing patterns for triplet passages, which surprisingly anticipates his actual chapter on the affects of bowing patterns rooted in a Baroque *Affektenlehre*.⁷⁴ In general, L. Mozart notes, triplets are difficult to execute evenly, yet this is essential to their nature. The even execution of triplets on a string instrument requires careful attention and practice, due to the uneven

⁷⁴ Leopold Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg, 1756), facs. reprint edn (Salzburg, 1922), "Das Siebende Hauptstück", §1, 122: "Ich verstehe, wenn der Componist eine vernünftige Wahl trifft, wenn er die ieder Leidenschaft ähnlichen Melodien wählet, und den gehörigen Vortrag recht anzuzeigen weis. Oder wenn ein wohlgeübter Violinist selbst eine gesunde Beurtheilungskraft besitzt, die, so zu reden, ganz nacketen Noten mit Vernunft abzuspielen; und wenn er sich bemühet den Affect zu finden, und die hier folgenden Stricharten am rechten Ort anzubringen."

distribution of up and down bows, which can easily produce accents where they are not suitable and omit them where they are needed. In the opening gambit to the chapter, L. Mozart sets triplets aside as something outside of the norm, as an extraordinary figure for expression:

Charming as these triplets are when played well, they are equally insipid when not executed in the right and proper manner. Many fail in this, even those who pride themselves not a little on their musical knowledge and in spite of this are yet unable to play six or eight triplets in their relative equality, but play either the first or last two notes quicker, and instead of dividing such notes evenly, play them in quite a different style, and mostly thus: which surely expresses something totally different and goes directly against the meaning of the composer. These notes are specially marked with the numeral (3) to distinguish them more easily from others and to give them the necessary characteristic, and no other interpretation.⁷⁵

Triplets have an inherent expressive quality. Beyond their expression of "otherness," the triplets can be adapted to the character of the piece by way of their bowing. Here, L. Mozart distinguishes between fast and slow movement and gives examples of bowed out, slurred in three and in six, groupings of one plus two. His mapping of bowing patterns onto

⁷⁵ Mozart, *Violinschule*, 109: "So zierlich diese Triolen sind, wenn sie gut vorgetragen werden; so abgeschmackt klingen sie, wenn sie ihren rechten und gleichen Vortrag nicht haben. Wider dieses fehlen gar viele, und zwar auch solche, die sich nicht wenig auf ihre musikalische Wissenschaft zu gute thun, bey allem dem aber nicht im Stande sind 6. bis 8. Triolen in der gehörigen Gleichheit abzuspielen; sondern entweder die ersten oder die letzten zwo Noten geschwinder abgeigen, und, anstatt solche Noten recht gleich einzutheilen, auf eine ganz andere Art und mehrentheils also spielen: welches doch ganz etwas anders saget, und der Meinung des Componisten schnurgerad entgegen läuft. Diese Noten werden eben deßwegen mit der Zahl (3) bemerkt, um dieselben desto eher gleich von andern unterscheiden zu können, und ihnen den erforderlichen, eigenen, und keinen andern Ausdruck zu geben." translation quoted from Leopold Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, trans. Editha Knocker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), 103.

affects such as "touching and pathetic", "animated" and "disdainful and audacious" and his claim that the precise manner of executing the bowing patterns shows good or bad taste, make the triplet passages the quintessential playground for soloistic display – here, skill, affect and taste are united.⁷⁶ Through triplets, the player can express knowledge (of stylistics), sensitivity (towards the piece) and skill (accenting the right notes).

The dilettante quintet repertoire shows a striking use of triplets in three functions: as responsorial material between parts of a period, as ornamental passage work that serves no structural function and usually stalls the harmonic rhythm, and as variations on a theme. Förster's Quintet in c minor, for instance, opens with a two-fold eight-bar period, which is followed by a period developing this material (Example 21); the latter is extended by two extra bars (bars 16 and 17). The quintet opens with a *premier coup d'archet*, forcefully stated by double and triple stops in all instruments, immediately giving an orchestral feel. The interaction in the first period (bars 1-8) adheres to the orchestral impression as the first violinist outlines a melody, with the others chiming in (bars 2 and 4) or accompanying in repeated

⁷⁶ Quotes from Mozart. *Violinschule*. 1756. 116 and 118 respectively: "Nachdruck und Geist," "keck" and "verächtlich und frech". Translations quoted from Mozart, *Treatise*, trans. E. Kocker, 110. Passages exemplifying the predestination for individual display include Mozart, *Violinschule*, 113 and 115: "ganz anders klingen die Triolen, wenn die erste Note eines Dreyerls mit dem Herabstriche ganz allein schnell weggespielt wird; die zwo andern aber im Hinaufstriche zusammen geschliffen werden. Es muß aber bey dieser, bey der vorhergehenden und bey allen nachfolgenden Veränderungen die Gleichheit der Noten des Spielenden einziges Augenwerk seyn. ... Hier muß ich erinnern, daß man die erste Note eines Dreyerls ... zwar schnell wegspielen, allein nicht mit einer übertriebenen Stärke, und zwar so nährisch abreissen solle, daß man sich dadurch bey den Zuhörern lächerlich <emachet."

quavers. During the second period (bars 9-19) all players but the cellist are given the opportunity to develop a "voice," i.e. to have a little moment of individual speech, even if this takes the simple form of reiterating things that have already been said. Each one gets his chance to feel their way into freedom, yet the texture remains unified. Whereas the violins imparted the opening theme, the two violists now receive their chance to play a transitional theme that takes us into the relative major (bar 20 on). This modulatory theme (which is a derivative of the motivic material in the opening eight-bar theme) is interspersed with commentary from the first violinist, and this commentary is denoted as such by the introduction of the triplet rhythm, providing at once a distinct voice and character from the opening.



Example 21: E.A. Förster, String Quintet Op.19, (i)

Example 21 (continued)

The musical score is divided into four systems, each containing five staves (treble, alto, and bass for both hands). The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The time signature is 4/4.

- System 1 (Measures 7-12):** Measures 7-12. Measure 7 starts with a forte (*f*) dynamic. Measures 10-12 feature a decrescendo (*decresc.*) from forte to piano.
- System 2 (Measures 13-17):** Measures 13-17. Measure 13 starts with a forte (*f*) dynamic. Measures 14-17 feature a decrescendo (*decresc.*) from forte to piano.
- System 3 (Measures 18-22):** Measures 18-22. Measure 18 starts with a piano (*p*) dynamic. Measures 19-22 feature a decrescendo (*decresc.*) from piano to fortissimo (*ff*).
- System 4 (Measures 23-27):** Measures 23-27. Measure 23 starts with a piano (*p*) dynamic. Measures 24-27 feature a decrescendo (*decresc.*) from piano to fortissimo (*ff*).

Example 21 (continued)



Once the modulation is achieved, the first violinist rejoices over a harmonically static passage that simply affirms the new key. Here, her technical skills are given the first outlet as the combination of string crossing and triplet bowing presents a challenge that demands good control of the bow and a relaxed arm in addition to a good sense for the meter. Triplet bowing – as Leopold Mozart pointed out – is always special, on account of the number of phrases that begin "the wrong way round," which means that the natural weighting of the bow must be used a different way in order not to disturb the subdivision within both bar and beat.

In a similar manner, Franz Anton Hoffmeister employs the triplet as diversion, decoration, variation and individualised voice. In his Quintet in A major (Example 22), the opening theme is played by the violins in duet, but the other players make their existence known by the force of a *premier coup d'archet* upon their first entry (bar 2²). They are permitted into the circle in the second half of the first period and here participate in the statement of the first theme. Still feeling deprived of their chance to play the theme twice, the lower strings

repeat it, but the first violinist undulates above this statement with a first hint of virtuosic ambitions, which promptly turn into a concerto-like texture (bars 13-18). Whereas the concerto topic carries out the modulation, the preceding triplet bars have no structural function, instead leading the action towards a new hierarchy of players and musical styles.

Allegro

The musical score is for a String Quintet in A major, (i), 1-53 by F. A. Hoffmeister. It is in common time and marked 'Allegro'. The score is written for five staves, representing the five strings of a quintet. The first system (bars 1-12) shows a complex texture with many dynamics (p, f) and articulations (accents, slurs). The second system (bars 13-18) begins with a triplet in the first violin and continues with a more rhythmic, dance-like texture. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'.

Example 22: F. A. Hoffmeister, *String Quintet in A major, (i)*, 1-53

Example 22 (continued)

13

18

dolce

p

p

p

24

f

f

f

f

f

Example 22 (continued)

28

p *p* *f* *f*

32

p *p* *p* *p* *p* *dolce*

37

p *p* *p* *p* *p*

Example 22 (continued)

42

dolce

This system contains measures 42 through 46. The music is in D major (two sharps) and 3/4 time. Measure 42 has a whole rest in the treble and a half note D in the bass. Measure 43 has a half note D in the treble and a half note D in the bass. Measure 44 has a half note D in the treble and a half note D in the bass. Measure 45 has a half note D in the treble and a half note D in the bass. Measure 46 has a half note D in the treble and a half note D in the bass. The word *dolce* is written above the treble staff in measure 44.

47

This system contains measures 47 through 49. The music is in D major (two sharps) and 3/4 time. Measure 47 has a half note D in the treble and a half note D in the bass. Measure 48 has a half note D in the treble and a half note D in the bass. Measure 49 has a half note D in the treble and a half note D in the bass.

50

This system contains measures 50 through 52. The music is in D major (two sharps) and 3/4 time. Measure 50 has a half note D in the treble and a half note D in the bass. Measure 51 has a half note D in the treble and a half note D in the bass. Measure 52 has a half note D in the treble and a half note D in the bass. The word *f* is written below the bass staff in measure 52.

Krommer invokes the same playfulness combined with an allusion to the concerto trope in the exposition's closing theme in his Quintet in c minor (Example 23). After a sequence of trills (written out in semiquavers) that fail to lead to a conclusion, answered by a military topic, the first violinist seems to realise that only the pretense of a "cadenza" will bring the movement to a close. In order to denote his moment of singular display, he breaks into two bars of triplets before the trill proper can invite the "orchestra" to re-enter with the first subject in order to close the exposition. Krommer's mix of performance actions, topics and structural placement is particularly cunning here and illustrates a deliberate play with musical conventions, as all actions allude to a movement ending proper when it is of course only the exposition that ends here.



Example 23: A. Krommer, *String Quintet in c minor*, (i), 61-82

Example 23 (continued)

66

decresc.

decresc.

decresc.

decresc.

decresc.

70

p

p

p

p

p

tr

decresc.

75

f

f

f

f

f

decresc.

Triplets are often employed in passage work that functions to prolong the structure and forestall harmonic change. Within the overall compositional structure, passagework is seldom related to large-scale modulations, nor to the introduction of the new melodic material that would present a new paragraph. Instead it gives the players a chance to shine. In his *Méthode raisonnée pour apprendre à jouer du violon*, Antoine Bailleux describes the "passage" as a varied and voluntary ornamentation, which lends itself to the display of taste and individuality:

The different manners are manifold, "...." They are marked by grace notes, by way of which we descend or ascend from one note to the next. The passages are arbitrary, each one can be played more or less according to one's taste and disposition.⁷⁷

Short sections of passagework, particularly in the first violin, suffuse these quintets, rendering them a grateful vehicle for virtuosic display. The passages exercise theatricality and individuality on the part of the player and sullen submission on the part of the other players now relegated to accompanists.

To complement this soloistic role that invokes a concerto topos (perhaps more so in the players' minds than the listeners' ears and eyes), the other players are frequently assigned a particular type of accompaniment that is of a rather orchestral nature: repeated quavers.

⁷⁷ Antoine Bailleux, *Méthode raisonnée pour apprendre à jouer du violon. Avec le doigté de cet instrument et les différents agréments dont il est susceptible* (Paris 1779, 2nd edition 1798), facs. reprint of the 1798 edn (Geneva : Minkoff, 1972), 12: "se fait de plusieurs manières différentes, comme on le verra ci-dessous. Il se marque par des petites notes postiches, au moyen desquelles on monte ou descend d'un ton à l'autre. Les Passages sont arbitraires, chacun peut en faire plus ou moins, suivant son gout et sa disposition."

Reminiscent of the full-bodied sound of a string band with more than one player to a part, these passages pretend to enter into that soundworld and thereby lead the players into it. At the same time, the repeated quavers are good timekeepers, and they are frequently employed to hold the rhythm steady and to grant that no-one gets lost, which would be altogether too easy if one had to play semibreves or even count rests! After all, none of the parts for these quintets has bar numbers or rehearsal letters. The lack of rests is striking and must surely be a result of trying to keep all voices and all players engaged whilst also creating textural differences. Capuzzi turns the quaver movement into thematic material at the outset of the development: here, the accompaniment rather than the thematic material of the opening is combined with the preluding unison gesture to launch the development (Example 24).



*Example 24: A. Capuzzi. String Quintet No.1 in Eb major. (i).
Development – opening*

Example 24 (continued)



7. Topical Analysis Extended

In the preceeding analyses I have borrowed in part the methods and terms of topical analysis.⁷⁸ In his semiotic reading of late eighteenth-century music, *Playing with Signs*, K. Agawu defined a topic as a musical sign that consists of

a signifier (a certain disposition of musical dimensions) and a signified (a conventional stylistic unit, often but not always referential in quality). Signifiers are identified as a relation unit within the dimensions of melody, harmony, meter, rhythm, and so on, while the signified is designated by conventional labels drawn mostly from eighteenth-century historiography (*Sturm und Drang*, fanfare, learned style, sensibility, and so on).⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Seminal studies in topical and semiological musical analysis comprise: Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980); Wye J. Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le Nozze Di Figaro and Don Giovanni* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Frits Noske, *The Signifier and the Signified: Studies in the Operas of Mozart and Verdi* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1977); Kofi Agawu, *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

⁷⁹ Agawu, *Playing with Signs*, 49.

Agawu draws up a subsection of topics – he claims that the universe of topics pertaining to late eighteenth-century music is infinite – that consist of three types of topics. The first type refers to a specific character and subsumes topics such as "alla breve," "alla zoppa," and "amoroso," whereas the second references a musical style specific to certain musical functions. Topics in this category are "aria," various dance types, "hunt style," "French overture" and "opera buffa." The third denotes certain aesthetic commonplaces within late eighteenth-century cultural life, thereby relying on a type of artistic *Zeitgeist*. This category comprises "sensibility," "ombra" and "Sturm und Drang." Yet others can be regarded as fusing the second and third aspects, such as "learned style," "brilliant style" and "fantasy."

An essential characteristic of the type of topics I have enlisted in my analysis is their status as sensual signs. Musical textures such as unisons, triplet passages and accompanying quavers can hardly be seen to have associative function in their own right, the way that military topics or dance types do. Their application - even within the historically confined period spanned by the works of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven - is too frequent to give them a unified topical name that references one constant and specific external characteristic. Rather, certain generic features of the piece of music and the piece's instrumentation are crucial in determining their topical status. Two generic features in particular infuse these gestures and textures with meaning. Primarily meaning-giving is the social context, i.e. the salon, in which music was played together by amateurs and professionals, so that it was experienced through active participation more than through

spectatorship and silent listening. The second factor contributing to the meaning is the fact that these pieces are not solo, but ensemble pieces and that they are played by one person per part, which establishes a direct affiliation of each person with a musical line. These two contexts also prompt me to define my topics as "action topics," i.e. they function as topics through and in the process of playing. The sign denotes a playing action and through the social context this playing action becomes a signifier for something beyond the action. The meaning, or the signified, is of a sensual and empirical nature: it creates a certain feeling, and the repeated exercise of the feeling in relation to several other similarly repeatedly exercised feelings creates an extra-musical meaning. What do these topics do? Each one of them locates the players on an axis between individuality and communality.

It is hardly an original argument that a tune-and-accompaniment style passage puts one person in charge of several others, and that each one has to fulfil a specific role. What is interesting, however, is how these action topics relate to the overall course of actions and to the rules of the game, i.e. to certain structural expectations in the piece. Agawu discusses the inherent structural function that certain musical phrases have and denotes them as referential signs. He places these in opposition to "pure signs," which he defines as "providing important clues to musical organization through conventional use, but not necessarily by referential or extramusical association."⁸⁰ Pure signs in Agawu's terms are those that articulate a form and determine a beginning, middle and end.

⁸⁰ Agawu, *Playing with Signs*, 51.

Agawu finds a historical rationale for these pure signs in eighteenth-century rhetorical models applied to music, such as are found in Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*. Pure signs, therefore, function through the establishment of rules of composition within a certain historical style. Agawu claims that "the sources of a work's character" lie in the dialectic between the extroversive and the introversive layer of a piece. In other words, the interplay between the referential surface and the large-scale structural background reveals the game that the composer played in constructing the piece. Agawu is concerned with the exegesis of a conscious or subconscious compositional act, during which the composer structures and constructs his piece of music by locating a string of signs along a vertical axis that reference a) musical pieces at large, b) a particular musical style and c) the work's own internal referential system. In performing this ultimate *ars combinatoria* the composer himself becomes a listener on the voyage of referential discovery.

Whereas Agawu's signs gain meaning through compositional placement alone, I have located several topics that gain meaning through the act of playing. My topics therefore do not fall into two categories – referential and pure – but they gain meaning according to one or both of the two spaces in which Agawu's referential and pure signs functioned: Whereas the unison has a social meaning (i.e. on the axis between individuality and communality) outside of its placement within the course of a movement, a tune-and-accompaniment texture cannot claim a very pertinent social meaning as it makes up most of music. However, if the material played in tune-and-accompaniment

fashion were previously stated by the full group in unison, the sequence of the two events would locate the second one differently on the individual-communal axis. In similar fashion, the meaning of the unison can be altered by its placement between other statements. The musical gestures therefore infuse each other with meaning.

Agawu assesses the placement of introversive and extroversive signs within "conventions of grammar and syntax." With reference to his case studies these conventions are defined most prominently through their tonal language and tonal conventions, leading him to represent this level through Schenkerian graphs. These tonal conventions are the rules of a game, without which the game cannot be played. The expectations that these rules create can give further meaning to "action topics," as the latter act out expectations – satisfied or confounded – and therefore become statements of knowledge and recognition. The act of playing is the proverbial "final click" of the *Liebhaber* turning himself into a *Kenner*. (I am reading gestures not as signifiers that punctuate the semantics of a piece, but on the contrary as the semantic expectations of the piece that can turn something into an action topic.) In Agawu's system the extroversive signs cannot change meaning at a different placement in the piece.⁸¹ Neither do the introversives; rather, these can appear out of place, because they appear at unconventionally moments and therefore draw attention to themselves. Instead, the topics serve to assess intertextuality. While my action topics rely on intertextuality, i.e. on their frequent

⁸¹ Agawu introduces a category of dynamic procedures such as imitation (as opposed to static topics) and these "are admitted without discrimination into the domain of signifiers." Agawu, *Playing with Signs*, 129.

appearance, their particular placement within a structure also influences their emergence as topics. Certain topics appear only through their structural and/or textural placement. In addition, all of my gestures need the full complement of players to function – stripped to a piano reduction they would lose their primary meaning (though this meaning could be imagined, and therefore exist as an indirect meaning created through recollection), as the signification lies less in the sound (and is therefore not for a listener) than in the action necessary to make that sound. While Agawu asked "how does a piece mean" instead of "what does a piece mean," I would like to ask "what does a piece do" and "what does doing a piece mean?"⁸²

Two considerations underlie Agawu's excavation of the generation of meaning in instrumental music. Firstly, he equates expression or expressiveness with meaning, so that meaning lies within the emotive effect of the sound world of a piece of music. Secondly, his system of meaning-giving can only work within a context of conventions. Only a high degree of familiarity on the part of the listeners with the music of the late eighteenth century will grant that they understand in the music that which Agawu equates with its meaning. Agawu founds his system on a dangerous conflation of *Kenner* and *Liebhaber*. What is more, Agawu's "meaning," implied in "how a piece means," is generated by the *pleasure* of recognition. Therefore the expression of the piece increases in proportion to the number of elements recognised. The pleasure of art comes from the

⁸² The latter question is twofold: "What is the effect on the players?" and "What is the intention of the composer?" The two do not necessarily need to coincide. The point of intentionality will be taken up in Chapter IV.

moment of recognition, and this pleasure is enhanced by the nature of the elements recognised: if they are merely recognised as extroversive topics the pleasure will be less than if they are also recognised as introversive topics.

Agawu relies solely on the recognition of sounds and their relationship to each other. He is hereby indebted to the looming eighteenth-century debate on the relationship between music and language, yet he comes down firmly on the side of music being a language-like system that consists of signifiers embedded in a syntax governed by a general grammar. The signifiers, such as a rhythmic pattern in music, refer to specific sounding events: to the march, the dance, to sensibility or to a beginning or an end. The signifiers are therefore always descriptive, because each one references a specific event. Agawu's system assesses music as a language consisting purely of *constatives*, because it views music from the vantage point of the uninvolved listener, not from the point of view of one of its players in the act of making music. It accounts for music as a descriptive language, not an active one. Establishing a large eighteenth-century frame of reference for his semiotics, Agawu nevertheless omits a prominent eighteenth-century concern which complemented the vital system of recognition which he describes: a concern with the power of sensuality.

Keeping a clear distinction between *constatives* and *performatives* in language caused Austin considerable difficulties because constatives, whilst describing an action rather than performing the action, were nevertheless performatives of the act of

describing (questioning, suggesting etc.). This difficulty is the same that Agawu encounters when he separates introversive from extroversive signifiers. If we were to assume that extroversives, i.e. Ratnerian topics, are performatives, we can take introversives as constatives that are descriptive of formal procedures. They don't act, but refer. However, Agawu's main qualms lie with the performatives as he establishes that extroversives themselves are only extroversive with respect to their origin, but not with respect to their ultimate form. So, instead of acting a topic they merely allude to an external musical event. Similarly, we could add that introversives become performatives within the framework of the piece. The latter might become clearer when we compare the application of the concept to literature: here, every constative becomes a performative as it creates characters, ideas and concepts rather than describing existing ones. As in music, the matter of the narrative only comes about by its description and therefore the act of describing becomes a performative. This realisation encapsulates the problem eighteenth-century theorists had with instrumental music - it is performative, but the action it performs is never explicit - that is, as long as we consider music a "language" rather than a language-like system, or simply, a system of communication that functions similarly to language (which a topical system does). We can indeed detect that in the eighteenth century the circle of reasoning compared music to language via literature or theatre, i.e. via a narrative language. The demand on music to "speak" was always related to specific characters, concepts and contexts, and as a result, theorists like Sulzer rated the simple song the highest.

The eighteenth-century demand that music should speak was surely rooted in the stipulation that art must have a specific meaning which may, however, be circumscribed by its function, as is the case in dance and theatre music. In this sense we can actually return to the origins of Austin's distinction between performatives and constatives and contemplate not the meaning of a sentence or a piece of music and the sentence/musical structure, but what is issued in the production of music. Crucially, this approach must focus on the moment of utterance through the players, not on the moment of composition.⁸³ Austin's distinction between performatives and constatives faltered due to the speech context and grammatical specification that he tried to apply. Whereas his initial definition of performatives referred to those that act a conventional act, i.e. a marriage ("I do"), a christening ("I name"), he found himself at an impasse in which each single speech act was a conventional act of sorts. He therefore replaced the binary opposition with a threefold scheme underlying speech acts. The "locutionary act" is simply the act of speaking, the "illocutionary act" describes what a person is doing in speaking, i.e. describing, questioning, stating etc., and, finally, the "perlocutionary act" describes what a person does by speaking, i.e. informing, convincing or prohibiting. Austin's performatives and constatives now become those where illocutionary and perlocutionary acts coincide, which is the case

⁸³ We will see in Chapter V that, gradually over the course of the late eighteenth century, composition was understood as the establishment of structures rather than the rules of harmony. Reicha, in his *Treatise on Melody*, replaces harmony with composition and redefines music as a combination of gestures that form a unity through the piece's symmetry rather than a sequence of language-like or language-accompanying utterances that are bound by the correct procession of chords.

in all ceremonial acts, and those where these differ (e.g. the illocutionary act that I perform in the utterance "I prohibit you from smoking" is a statement, the perlocutionary one is that I forbid you to perform a certain action.).

Alexander Sesonske has revisited the collapsed distinction between performatives and constatives in Austin's theories and points out that "the original distinction between performative and constative is a functional one."⁸⁴ He returns to looking at the "speech situation," which, he states, includes normally "two or more humans."⁸⁵ Sesonske now looks at the effects of speech acts in order to establish their function. He establishes three broad categories of human relationships: psychological relationships, i.e. "when one has knowledge of the other or when one has some feeling, emotion, or attitude toward the other," generative relationships, i.e. "when action of one brings about some action or state in the other," and formal relationships, "when the range of appropriate or permissible interaction between them is defined or determined by implicit or explicit conventions or rules accepted within a group, community or culture."⁸⁶ He sorts out the functions of utterances as to their purpose with regard to the latter two relationships, because the first is not a causal one; a change in psychological status is a by-product of most utterances. In music, we generally assume that its sole objective is an alteration in the first, in the psychological status of a person. However,

⁸⁴ Alexander Sesonske, "Performatives," *Journal of Philosophy* 62/17 (Sept. 9, 1965): 459-468; quotes from p. 460.

⁸⁵ Sesonske, "Performatives," 461.

⁸⁶ Sesonske, "Performatives," 462-63.

eighteenth-century chamber music - like the speech that Sesonske defines (he omits "a person talking to himself" as a different type of speech act) – is a sequence of acts that involves more than one person, i.e. at least composer-performer and listener, or composer and performer. That chamber music is conceived for a number of people (rather than being composed for solitary reading) is evident in its circulation format in parts rather than scores.⁸⁷ Secondly, the relationship between the people involved is always necessarily a formal one, since following a score, even if improvisations are added, necessarily curtails the range of permissible actions and therefore prescribes a conventional situation (translated into notation). Like a contract, musical notation therefore guides the actions of its participants. Sesonske points out that Austin's *performatives* were originally defined as speech acts uttered with the purpose of altering the formal relationship between the participants.⁸⁸ He therefore breaks the circle that makes every speech act a performative by referring to its effect.

In chamber music the locutionary act is the playing of a gesture, but what are the illocutionary and the perlocutionary? In models such as Agawu's the locutionary act is the topic or sign (the extroversive or the introversive), the illocutionary would be the act of referencing that this sign performs, and the perlocutionary the meaning yielded from this reference. Such meaning is either internal to the piece or "intertextual," referring to other musics, events or concepts (such as

⁸⁷ This supposition will be explained further in chapter V.

⁸⁸ Sesonske, "Performatives," 467.

the march, or the sentimental). Looking at musical notation not as a language system, but as a system to encode formal relationships, we can redefine the illocutionary and the perlocutionary on the grounds of their functional purpose. The musical gesture remains the locutionary. The illocutionary, however, becomes the act of playing, and this playing is done in a certain manner or relationship to others, i.e. it functions to individualise or unify. The latter yields its meaning and is therefore the perlocutionary – the "what" we do by performing a certain gesture. The context shifts from a text-based analysis to an act-based analysis, so that the system of reference is not the narrative structure, but the social act (see Table 3).

Table 3: Layers of Signification in Chamber Music

Locutionary	Sign	Gesture
Illocutionary	Refers to Musical context/ structure	Act of playing in certain manner
Perlocutionary	Compositional meaning	Social meaning

We can now distinguish between a type of utterance that references only the act of playing and thereby a social meaning, and types of utterances that reference structural elements within the code of conduct – the formal relationship that the musical notation encodes. We therefore have different types of *performatives* that range between these two and add another level of meaning to Agawu's reference/ recognition level:

1. Extroversive topic – performs theatrically a recognition of musical or extramusical conventions,
2. Introversive topic – performs the recognition of musical conventions,
3. Gesture – referencing other parts of the formal contract and therefore performing the recognition of something that happened previously,
4. Action topic – referencing the act of playing together and therefore performing the recognition of groupings.

In examples 1-24 I have defined the new sensual or action topics. Table 4 revisits Agawu's analysis of K 515 and presents his topical analysis side-by-side with my action topics. The two central rows - "extroversives" and "introversives" - show elements of inter-textuality, i.e. references to a conventional musical language, and gestures that reference the linearly-emerging structure of K 515. The table is designed to show the interaction between the levels of tonal and formal structure, recognition, and action.

Table 4: W. A. Mozart. K 515 (i), 1-156. Topical Analysis

Key area /cadences	I		(V-I)		I			(IV-I)
Theme	I,1				I,1			
Bar	1-13	4-5 9-10 14+	18-19	20	21+	24-25	34-37	38-41
Extroversives acc. to Agawu	Mannheim Rocket	Sensibility	Gavotte		Mannheim Rocket Sturm und Drang	Sensibility	Learned Style	Pastoral
Introversives	Orchestral grand opening hinted, but unfulfilled	"Manier" to conclude or bridge			Role reversal		Stretto	(Soloistic) continuation
Formal gestures					Reiteration of theme I,1			Reversal and variation of theme I,1
Action topic	Quaver acc. – sound cushion and pulse	Improvisatory gesture – individual voice		General pause – sensation of pulse	Role reversal, at once in agreement and differing	Parody of the individual voice	Dialogue/ concerting	Pulse transferred to leadership

Table 4 (continued)

Key area	(V-I)	IV/ flat VI		V 6/4 5/3 (V-I)	(V-I)	Modulatory	I=D		
Theme		I,2				I,3	I,1		
Bar	42	46+	53-54	55	57+	67-68	69-75	72-73	77+
Extroversives acc. to Agawu				Fanfare	Gavotte		Mannheim Rocket	Sensibility	Learned Style
Introversives		Bourée	Concerto trope in Vn1	Ending gesture					Reference to generic dev. Procedure
Formal gestures									
Action topics	Individual leadership	Individual material turned into material for discussion	Finding together	Violin strokes		Unanimity	Quaver acc.	Improv. gesture	Integration

Table 4 (continued)

Key area	Modulatory: I=V of G	I=G					
Theme	I,3 becomes II,1		II,1				II,2
Bar	82-89	86+	94+	99+	106	108-109 110-111	113-114
Extroversives acc. to Agawu		Musette	Fantasy				
Introversives		Denial of affirmative second subject	Cadential gesture in Vns			Failed cadences	Closing trill theme
Formal gestures	Reference to individualisation of b.40-42						
Action topics	Contemplation/ searching	Meandering/ searching	Affirmative counterpoint	Dialogue: II,1 as material for exchange	... ending in affirmative bow stroke		Concerto trope

Table 4 (continued)

Key area					
Theme					
Bar	115	118+	125+	131-151	136+
Extroversives acc. to Agawu	Alla zoppa	Gavotte March	Brilliant style	Musette	
Introversives	Cadences fulfilled			Coda material	
Formal gestures				Reference to II,2 (trill) And to I,1	
Action topics			Brilliant style	Integration through continuous movement	Violin unanimity in octaves

The very opening of Mozart's K 515 might indeed be a "Mannheim rocket," yet one that loses steam. The cellist braces himself for a forceful lead to open with the upward-launching rocket, yet one person fails to join in altogether, while the other three enter on the right notes outlining the tonic triad, but *piano* and with repeated quavers. The cellist reacts by modestly tiptoeing up his rocket launch, whilst the violists and second violinist stick to their accompanying guns, preparing the ground for a freely delivered song above. The accompanying quavers are at once a free-floating cushion of sound and a rhythm keeper as they dictate a strict pulse akin to marching in step. The first violin enters with a "Manier" instead – displaying his individuality with a simple ornamental gesture that would usually conclude a period or lead over to the next (of course this is, as the sensibility implies, an exercise in a dictated emotion, but it is still an individual act to practise this emotion). The first period breaks off inconclusively with an imperfect cadence at bar 19. After this Mozart inserts a whole bar of general pause – at once a gesture of stillness and suspense, and an exercise in unanimity as each player maintains the communal sense of pulse in order to pace the general pause and restart together in bar 21. The roles are now reversed and the violinist embarks on the grand opening gesture, which is further diminished because the middle players have decided on c minor rather than C major, tying the first violinist and the cellist into a new sound world. The cellist's attempt at the ornamental gesture sounds like a reminiscence, perhaps even a satire of its individualism, when presented freshly. The muffled sound of the lower two strings (the

cellist can't use his open G string as he has to perform the ornament) adds this quality of reminiscence. When the first violinist resumes his original role he combines it with a reversal of the rocket subject, grabbing all attention, thus causing the others to come to a halt and give way to his soloistic meanderings. Finally, the three mid-voice players are given their chance to speak out and it is they who present the second subject. The cadences throughout the movement are played in full chorus (see bars 17-19, 43-46); the conclusion of the subject group I, theme 2 period is a prime example. All players engage in the utterance of the main theme, though the first violinist soon acts out his *primo uomo* role again, swerving up the register in a concerto-cadence trope, before the second violinist grounds him again with a bar of idiomatic arpeggio. The cadence that finally brings a modulation is equally voiced by all players: here (bar 67) the unison of three voices is enriched by the first viola's harmonisation in sixths, which seems to affirm the tonic key, but quickly leads to the secondary dominant. The communal affirmation of the new key is contrasted in the passage beginning in bar 82 with the solitary, meandering and searching character of the second theme group. After the first violinist has convinced the other players, though, the violists promptly resume the theme (bar 94), thereby starting a continuation that has the character of a coda from the start. This character is enhanced by the violinist's cadential manner (bars 94-96, 96-98). Yet the conclusion is averted by the cellist, who fails to acknowledge the correct key for a cadence point (bars 108-109, 110-111), forcing the violinists to take up the matter and insert a concerto trope (two bars of trill) in order to conclude in G

major. The long passage beginning at bar 116 is primarily an exercise in rhythmic distribution and the communal sensation of pulse. The first violinist is allowed one more chance to shine, before the coda proper unites all players through a continuous quaver movement yet again.

Chapter III - Viennese Salon Entertainment

1. *Feeling the Gestures of Art*

Life is not an uninterrupted conversation; important events can take place without a single word being spoken. Pantomime, therefore, should be a very important part of the play; it binds the dialogues together, it characterises, it can serve instead of an answer.¹

This concern with the relationship between theatre's constative verbal language and its performative gestural language, which occupied Diderot throughout his aesthetic writings, is characteristic of an enlightened mid-eighteenth-century debate on the relationship between words, increasingly disseminated through the rapidly growing print culture, and acts. In his *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*, the Abbé Dubos had already noted the essential connection between a feeling and its outward expression in gesture, facial mimicry and vocal pitch.² Bodily eloquence, according to Dubos, convinces at least as much as verbal meaning; in fact the proper gestures can assist greatly in the projection of the verbal meaning. He used his reading of

¹ Diderot, *De la poésie dramatique*, Chapt.21: "De la pantomime", quoted from Holmström's paraphrase of the paragraph in Kirsten Gram Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants. Studies on Some Trends of Theatrical Fashion 1770-1815* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1967), 38.

² J.B. Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (Paris, 1740). Particularly Vol.I, 405. For discussion of Dubos' ideals within the context of eighteenth-century theatre, see Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants*, 15-18; Remy G. Saisselin, "Ut Pictura Poesis: DuBos to Diderot," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 20/2 (Winter, 1961): 144-156; John Guthrie, "Schiller's Early Styles: Language and Gesture in *Die Räuber*," *The Modern Language Review* 94/2 (Apr., 1999): 438-459; Nicholas Mirzoeff, "Body Talk: Deafness, Sign and Visual Language in the Ancien Regime," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 25/4 (Summer, 1992): 561-585.

Quintilian to plead for a persuasive performance through a chanting style of delivery. Yet, its purpose lay less in a formulaic translation of passions into quasi-musical phrases than in supplying an aide to the less gifted performer. Increasingly, the performer could not only revert to this musical phraseology in order to hit the right note, but he would learn through the sensation of the explicit vocal gesture. Similarly, Dubos sought to accompany these vocal gestures with actual physical gestures, which again he derived from the pantomime of antiquity. He separated gestures into "gestes naturels" and "gestes artificiels," the former accompanying speech, but the latter containing meaning within them, which ran independent, even contrary to the meaning exposed through the spoken words.³ It was central to Dubos' aesthetics of the theatre that these gestures expressed such powerful emotions that through them the actors could learn the correct feeling; for only an authentic sensation on the part of the actor could ever portray this sensation to an audience. Thus, Dubos' demand for a "dictionnaires des gestes," containing images of the gesture appropriate for each passion, was not fuelled by a belief that passions could be caught in visually static form; rather, these pictorial images were to serve as models to reenact so as to feel the right passion through the recreation of its external expression in gesture. For Dubos, acting far exceeded the power of painting in the expression of the emotions.

Similar translations of passions - here captured in the depiction of gestures - into their performance inspired the art of "Attitudes" made

³ Dubos, *Réflexions critiques*, vol.3: 221.

famous by Lady Emma Hamilton in the late eighteenth century.⁴ Lady Hamilton would turn passions into visual portrayals through physical poses, yet the power of her performance rested not solely on a static quasi-pictorial display, but on the visualisation of a senuous act. Her art, then, at once commented on the art of painting and empowered this commentary through her own authentic experience of the emotion necessary in order to strike a convincing pose. Here, gesture and sensation informed each other, neither preceeding the other.

Lady Hamilton's virtuosity emerged from a far more wide-spread entertainment, which combined the pleasures of commentary on art with the art of performance. Dissolving the textuality of a painting into the experience of performance became a popular pastime in salons across Europe in the late eighteenth century, long before it temporarily became a staple on the early nineteenth-century theatre stages.⁵ The virtue of interaction was added to the virtuosity of the Attitudes in a popular parlour game, in which famous paintings would be recreated live: each person would assume the role and pose of one of the mostly mythological figures in the painting. Not only did this game rely on knowledge of these paintings, hence indicating a strong communal sensation created through art, but the game enforced the knowledge

⁴ Emma, Lady Hamilton (1765-1815) developed her "Attitudes" during the 1790s, while living in Naples as Sir William Hamilton's mistress and later wife. Here she met and fell in love with Lord Nelson, with whom she travelled to England performing her "Attitudes" to great acclaim in cities like Vienna en route. See also H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn. Chronicle and Works: The Years of the Creation* (Bloomington, London: Indiana University Press, 1977), 557-562.

⁵ Reviews of "Tableaux vivants" as a spectator's art appear in the Viennese paper *Thalia* after ca. 1805. They frequently interspersed concerts. See also Holmström, *Monodrama, Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants*; Sybille Demmer, *Untersuchungen zu Form und Geschichte des Monodramas* (Köln, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1982).

and impression of paintings of historical and literary episodes in the minds of the enactors. Both artwork and its emotive expression were reinforced through the sensual experience of its embodiment.⁶

The prominence of meaning in gesture and experience above textuality similarly characterised late eighteenth-century music as the previous chapter has illustrated. In fact, the essence of music as art was notoriously difficult to capture in textual form and had traditionally been transmitted through the interaction of text and performance.⁷ In music, the play with conventions – topical, musical

⁶ August Langens, "Attitüden und Tableaux in der Goethezeit," *Jahrbuch der Schillergesellschaft* 12 (1968): 194-258; Demmer, *Form und Geschichte des Monodramas*, particularly 38-46. Goethe described a typical albeit fictionalised scene of Attitudes as salon entertainment; here, the female protagonist, well-versed in pantomime performance, solicits the impromptu help of other guests: "Wozu sie aber diese Verkleidungen hauptsächlich benutzte, waren pantomimische Stellungen und Tänze, in denen sie verschiedene Charaktere auszudrücken gewandt war. Ein Kavalier aus ihrem Gefolge hatte sich eingerichtet, auf dem Flügel ihre Gebärden mit der wenigen nötigen Musik zu begleiten. ... Einer ihrer Verehrer und Adjutanten, dem sie etwas ins Ohr sagte, ging sogleich den Architekten aufzufordern, zu nötigen und gewissermaßen herbeizuschieben, daß er als Baumeister das Grab des Mausolus zeichnen, und also keineswegs einen Statisten, sondern einen ernstlich Mitspielenden vorstellen sollte. Wie verlegen der Architekt auch äußerlich erschien - ... - so fasste er sich doch gleich innerlich, allein um so wunderlicher war es anzusehen. Mit dem größten Ernst stellte er sich vor die große Tafel, die von ein paar Pagen gehalten wurde, und zeichnete mit viel Bedacht und Genauigkeit ein Grabmal, das zwar eher einem longobardischen als einem karischen König wäre gemäß gewesen, aber doch in so schönen Verhältnissen, so ernst in seinen Theilen, so geistreich in seinen Zieraten, daß man es mit Vergnügen entstehen sah, und als es fertig war, bewunderte." Not only is an at first involuntary member drafted in to play out this scene from Artemisia's trials, but here even painting is activated and spatialised: it gains its most pressing effect by happening in front of the audience, through its *Werden*, rather than its being. Furthermore, certain historic and artistic mistakes fade into insignificance behind the spiritual and aesthetic effect of the drawing. Quoted from J.W.v. Goethe, *Die Wahlverwandschaften* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1956), 146.

⁷ Robin Moore, "The Decline of Improvisation in Western Art Music: An Interpretation of Change," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 23/1 (June, 1992): 61-84; the significance of gesture to the meaning of music in the late eighteenth century has recently been explored in Wye J. Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le Nozze Di Figaro & Don Giovanni* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Mary K. Hunter and James Webster, *Opera Buffa in Mozart's Vienna* (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

and structure-internal – provided the vital effect of recognition. Dialogue, particularly in chamber music, was less textual artifice - akin to the display of dialogue in a static painting - than a social practice that carefully guided a social role-play. In participating in chamber music or in tableaux vivants, the participant experienced social integration and role-play first hand. In tableaux vivants this social interaction had previously existed in a textual form that could help the spectator to imagine its meaning, but its enactment manifested the sensation of each particular type of interaction by allowing the individual to feel it sensually through the striking of a particular pose. Stripped of the textual form that allowed a visualisation of interaction, chamber music in partbooks (rather than in score) was reliant to an even greater extent on the physical sensation of playing one's instrument (or singing), entwined with the sensation of becoming an integrated part of a larger whole by doing so.⁸

Joseph Sonnenfels mentioned in his "Handbuch zur inneren Staatsverwaltung" that man's nature is social, as *Vernunft*, the unique human gift, orders him to live communally. He noted:

domestic, marital and paternal society – all of these are steps to assimilate to society at large.⁹

Small social groups exercise and develop man's natural tendency towards a "cultivated" existence. Sonnenfels defined man's worth by

⁸ I will elaborate on the implications of publishing formats – parts versus score - for chamber music in Chapter V.

⁹ Sonnenfels, *Handbuch*, 3-4: "die häusliche, die eheliche, die älterliche Gesellschaft sind so viele Schritte um sich der grossen Gesellschaft zu nähren."

his citizenship, and the practice of art assisted man in exercising his rational and emotional faculties towards civil morality.

Sonnenfels opened his discussion of education and "Umgang" with the idea that

customs are the subject of morality, of religion and of civil laws, but each of these three treats them according to its own purpose; the first two as a means to enhance ethical behaviour, the latter only as a means to grant the coincidence of ethical laws and actions according to the law. Laws therefore do not prescribe customs, but they bring about their emergence.¹⁰

Sonnenfels understood "Sitten" (customs) as a conventionalised code of behaviour that guaranteed an emotional and intellectual tie to morality (he called this "allgemeine Gerechtigkeit")¹¹ and faith. Whereas morals and religion revolve around the education of customs, the state and society at large accept them as prescribed conventions and use them as their educational means. Laws do not prescribe customs, but they confine behavioural patterns, so that the law-abiding patterns are in line with moral and religious customs. Sonnenfels implies hereby that, by exercising a life according to written law, one could learn to feel "Sittlichkeit" (the feeling induced by moral behaviour).

Customs are necessarily conventions of social performance. If, therefore, art and music can be models for "Sittlichkeit," we must

¹⁰ Sonnenfels, *Handbuch*, 223: "Die Sitten sind ein gemeinschaftlicher Gegenstand der Moral, der Religion, und der bürgerlichen Gesetzgebung, aber jede behandelt die Sitten nach ihrer besonderen Absicht; die beyden ersten als Zweck, um Sittlichkeit zu befördern, die letzte nur als Mittel, um durch die Sittlichkeit die Übereinstimmung der Handlungen mit den Gesetzen desto zuverlässiger zu erhalten. Die Gesetze schreiben also nicht Sitten vor, aber sie machen, daß Sitten entstehen." "Sitte" is both custom and appropriate behavioural pattern, and "Sittlichkeit" describes a disposition according to the latter.

¹¹ Sonnenfels, *Handbuch*, 211.

search for them in the act and the conventions of performance. In reference to customs, text and performance behave like law and execution, in which, according to Sonnenfels, the former can guide but never create the latter. In music, the conventions of performance as guided by laws, i.e. texts, were increasingly judged in concert reviews, but also in the evaluation of music via its textual manifestation in form of publication reviews. Here, the criteria for assessment moved to the recognition of the composer's intentions, i.e. the encoding of meaning in the written laws, whereas in concert reviews criteria for assessment remained largely with the appropriate execution of the laws themselves, which in turn would either give rise to meaning or obscure it. Artistic conventions depended on the notion of taste but, like customs, they were also seen to have an educating function. The recognition of the beautiful and its proper execution could be learned through the study of models, which functioned in two ways: as objects of contemplation on the one hand, on the other as objects of activation.



Sonnenfels extended his political tract to include his studies on the nature of 'Vergnügungen', particularly the theatre, because he recognised the relationship between text and performance as a powerful medium in the dissemination of "Bildung" and "Sitten."¹² The latter are learned through acting models – "agierende Vorbilder" - but are expressed and exercised in deeds. The theatre therefore can

¹² The following survey is based on Sonnenfels' account of the theatre in his "Handbuch der inneren Staatsverwaltung," which recounts his theories presented in: Joseph von Sonnenfels, *Briefe über die wienerische Schaubühne* (Wien: J. Kurtzböck, 1769).

become a powerful model for "Sittlichkeit," but only if certain conditions are granted. Sonnenfels' critique of the theatre pertained particularly to the Viennese improvised theatre which, in light of his understanding of customs, is not surprising. The text of a play functions like the law, which circumscribes the space for "Sittlichkeit." If the text leaves loopholes, however, the individual needs to supply his own taste and Sittlichkeit which, as Sonnenfels noted, is not always developed enough. The actors, therefore, are not merely puppets who play for an audience, but are also students of taste, in which the law/text will guide them. If left to play *extempore*, Sonnenfels claimed, they often bring forth the popular yet crude "farce, bawdiness," "grimace" and "obscenity."¹³ If, therefore, the individual is elevated above the text (or the individual above the law) the whole can't function, because the individual is in danger of placing his own good (such as instant laughter and popularity) above the common good; the text/ law model failed to be sufficiently tight to teach him that his own good will always be comprised in the common good, but not vice versa.

Secondly, Sonnenfels claims, the theatre must not display "kings and heroes;" it should be "not only a theatrical act, but simultaneously the reflection of one's own condition."¹⁴ – its protagonists must be taken from the midst of the audience, so that an audience member can make "a transference from the acting persona to himself and his own."¹⁵ The models, therefore, function not by being played out in front

¹³ Sonnenfels, *Handbuch*, 237.

¹⁴ Sonnenfels, *Handbuch*, 287: but one must be able to entitle it "nicht nur ein Schauspiel, sondern gleichsam das Bild eures eigenen Zustandes."

¹⁵ Sonnenfels, *Handbuch*, 286-87: "Anwendung von der handelnden Person auf sich und die Seinigen."

of a merely onlooking audience, but by involving the audience as active members in experiencing the trials and tribulations of the on-stage characters. It is only through the process of identification, claimed Sonnenfels, that customs can be furthered through the theatre. At the same time, the very fact that theatre is a *Vergnügen* (entertainment) alone makes this process of identification and the self-awareness, which goes along with it, possible. *Vergnügungen* or *Ergetzungen* are vital in the furtherance of a people, in its education and the formation of a national spirit, because they combine communal spirit with self-awareness and recognition.¹⁶

In late eighteenth-century Vienna, the range of *Vergnügungen* (entertainments) was plentiful, yet united in its strong emphasis both on interaction and on the recognition of the self. Private theatre was a favourite amongst the Viennese nobility, and Graf Karl Zinzendorf recorded numerous performances of *Comédie de société*, in which the nobility entertained themselves by acting out theatre pieces which had recently been in the repertoire of the *Nationaltheater*, and in exceptional cases even preceeding this.¹⁷ Varying between ad hoc gatherings of noble members and established, fixed groups, the performers would play in full costume with stage sets, which were improvised if the event took place in a house that did not have a fixed theatre stage. Often the same group of dilettante actors would perform a series of plays together; the *Wiener Theater Almanach für das Jahr*

¹⁶ Sonnenfels, *Handbuch*, 292-293.

¹⁷ Dorothea Link, "Vienna's Private Theatrical and Musical Life, 1783-92, as Reported by Count Karl Zinzendorf," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122 (1997): 205-257.

1794 reported on various companies that emerged from this practice. Countess Stockhammer founded a company that played every year during the winter. The journal lists her regular actors, albeit only with the first letter of their names, which indicates that these abbreviations would have been enough for Viennese theatre lovers to recognise their fellow noble actors.¹⁸ Her company would leave the city of Vienna during the summer and continue its activities in Hütteldorf. The number of these "Privatgesellschaften" (private societies) increased during the 1790s and into the nineteenth century, extending invitations to the bourgeoisie as well. Matthias Perth (1788-1856), a Viennese civil servant and secretary to the royal hunting society in Vienna, reported in 1805 that his private theatre circle would typically perform plays by renowned, yet controversial playwrights such as Kotzebue. In addition, they would frequently perform pieces by the circle's members. It was the regular custom for company members to supply music for these performances. Regular rehearsals were held prior to repeated performances. A typical early example is described in Perth's diary entries in October 1805. On Saturday, October 5th, 1805, he attended a rehearsal for the plays performed the following Sunday:

Sa, 5.10. :... returned home, where we held another rehearsal. So, 6.10. we performed our play... The Captive, comedy by Kotzebue, in which I performed the part of Mayor Gellbau; then The Student Beggar, comedy in two acts, in which I performed the part of Wilhelm Lauser.¹⁹

¹⁸ "Nachricht von den Privattheatern," *Wiener Theater Almanach für das Jahr 1794* (Wien 1794): 43-67, here p.52.

¹⁹ Mathias Perth, Tagebücher, Vol. VI, 4. Source: A-Wst: Teilnachlaß in der Handschriftensammlung: 58 Bände Tagebücher (1803-1856), Verzeichnung: Inventar: "Sa, 5.10.: ...dann nach Hause, wo wir noch eine Probe hielten. So, 6.10. unser theater aufgeführt.... der Gefangene, Lustspiel von Kotzebue, wo ich die rolle

By 1810 Perth had become a regular member of a theatre company around Herr von Hye, who himself dabbled in playwriting, acting and composing. His house became a meeting place, variously to listen to music, to rehearse plays, to discuss their effectiveness and to perform. Perth reported in his diary a lifestyle that betrays an active participation in all manner of arts; regular visits to a number of illustrious Viennese bourgeois households were combined with music-making and listening to others play. At von Hye's he attended academies (15.11.1810); they discussed alterations to one of his plays after having performed it together numerous times. As a result he was to revise it and present it in two acts with an added battle scene for effect, for which he would compose new music:

30.11. discussed the alterations for Cleopatra with Herr von Hye: in the next performance we will have two acts and the play will be enriched by the battle between Antonius and Octavius. Herr von Hye himself will compose new music for the battle.²⁰

des Major Gellbau spielte, dann folgte der Bettelstudent, ein Originallustspiel in 2 akten, wo ich den Wilhelm lauser spielte." Perth's diaries have so far attracted little attention despite their detailed account of cultural and social events in Vienna in the first half of the nineteenth century. Studies include: Franz Patzer, "Die Tagebücher des Matthias Franz Perth 1803-1856," in *Neue Forschungsergebnisse aus der Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek*, ed. Franz Patzer (Wien, 1979), 11-29; Clemens Höslinger, "Das Schauspielhaus war zum Erdrücken voll: Der Tagebuchschreiber Mathias Perth als Besucher des Theaters an der Wien, 1803-1809," in *Theater am Hof und für das Volk: Beiträge zur vergleichenden Theater- und Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Brigitte Marschall (Wien: Böhlau, 2002), 377-390.

²⁰ Perth, *Tagebücher*, Vol.12, 267: "30.11. mit Herrn von Hye besprach er die Abänderungen für Kleopatra: bei der nächsten Darstellung wird sie aus 2 Akten bestehen und durch die Schlacht vermehrt, die zwischen Antonius und Octavius geliefert wird. Die Musik zur Schlacht wird Herr von Hye hierzu ganz neu komponieren."

The following month he reported on the rehearsals of the revised play, applauding the positive effect the music has on the new battle scene (23.12.). In January, the parody is performed in its new version.

Zinzendorf's diary entries, dating before the turn of the century, reported similarly that these fashionable *comédies en sociétés* – akin to domestic music-making – were performed by amateurs and professionals together. In 1786 Johann Baptist Esterházy held six performances of German plays including one by Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, one of the most illustrious actors in the German language theatre, for which he invited Franz Brockmann, the northern German acting star who had risen to great fame at Vienna's Nationaltheater, to direct.²¹ The involvement of these heroes of the Viennese theatre indicated that the nobility did not think of the theatre as a mere pastime, but as an artistic endeavour. Significant to this artistic endeavour was not simply the contemplation of art, but feeling and experiencing it by doing it. What's more, the process of working out a play was performed *en groupe*, therefore allowing the play to stimulate a communal exegesis of its content and meaning.

The illustrious salonier Caroline Pichler described the pleasures and fruits of this interactive acknowledgement of art during the late eighteenth century, when the desire for rationally and emotionally challenging pleasure outweighed the search for a mere pastime and

²¹ Schröder's *Viktorine* was performed on February 19th, his "Stille Wasser sind betrüglich" on March, 18th 1786. Nachlass Zinzendorf, *Tagebücher des Grafen Zinzendorf*, vols.6-57 (1761-1812/13), Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Kabinettsarchiv. See also Link. "Vienna's private theatrical and musical life," in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 122/2 (1997): 205-257, at 214.

one sought to stimulate one's senses rather than simply exercising one's critique:

the audience partook in the theatre in a manner that is entirely different from today. It was in search of intellectual pleasure, not simply pastime; it sought to inspire its sentiments, not just exercise the mind in being critical.²²

Caroline Pichler was the daughter of Franz Sales von Greiner, a close acquaintance of leading figures in Viennese cultural life. Greiner was described in the *Österreichische Biedermannschronik* as "a straightforward, well-thinking, accepting, active and admirable man, patron of the sciences and of the Enlightenment, foe to hypocrisy and bigotry, and a warm friend to all those, who excel through their talents and skills."²³ His salon was dominated by leading Viennese Enlightenment thinkers such as Lorenz Leopold Haschka, who would teach Caroline fine arts via the writings of Batteux. Here, *Comedie de société* was played regularly, and every Monday famous scenes from plays or mythology were performed as charades by the younger generation.

²² Caroline Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben*, 4 vols. (Wien: Druck und Verlag von A. Pichler's sel. Witwe, 1844), vol.1, 79: "Das Publikum nahm auf eine Weise an dem Theater teil, die von der jetzigen ganz verschieden ist. Es sucht geistigen Genuß, nicht bloßen Zeitvertreib, es wollte sein gefühl anregen lassen, nicht bloß den Verstand im Tadeln üben." for further information on the literary salons in Vienna see also: Roswitha Strommer, "Wiener literarische Salons zur Zeit Joseph Haydn's," in *Joseph Haydn und die Literature seiner Zeit*, ed. Herbert Zeman (Eisenstadt: Selbstverlag des Instituts für österreichische Kulturgeschichte, 1976), 97-121.

²³ Johann Rautenstrauch, *Österreichische Biedermannschronik*, 2 vols. (Freiheitsburg: Verlag der Gebrüder Redlich, 1784), vol.I, 66: "ein glatter, gutdenkender, einsichtsvoller, thätiger und verehrungswürdiger Mann, Beförderer der Wissenschaften und der Aufklärung, Feind der Gleißnerey und Bigotterie, und warmer Freund all jener, die sich durch Talente und Geschicklichkeit auszeichnen..."

Concerned with the spiritual and social education of a person, Greiner promoted the discussion of literature, regular private theatre performances and plenty of music-making. Greiner's salon represented an ideal of both individual furtherance and social interaction, where art functioned as the space in which to develop personal freedom on the one hand, and to learn rules and social definitions on the other. Caroline described the atmosphere in her father's house:

life in my parents' house was very pleasurable at this time; the whole of Vienna was swept up in a happy *spirit* that was receptive towards beauty and pleasure. One's mind was free, one was allowed to write, to print anything that was not against religion or the state in the strictest sense. Good manners were not so important. Free-spirited plays and novels were permitted and circulated in society.²⁴

In the early 1790s Caroline and her brother, joined by two friends, began to hold house comedies, which soon became a magnet for the countless visitors, although they were performed only by dilettantes.²⁵ During Advent, theatre was not performed, so "Quartetten" were held weekly, in which she participated frequently with performances of her own.

At Ignaz von Born's regular gatherings – usually concerned with political issues – Pichler was introduced to a new game, which was

²⁴ Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, I:103: "das Leben in meiner Ältern Hause gestaltete sich um diese Zeit sehr angenehm, wie denn überhaupt in ganz Wien damals ein fröhlicher, für jedes Schöne empfänglicher, für jeden Genuß offener Sinn herrschte. Der Geist durfte sich frei bewegen, es durfte geschrieben, gedruckt werden, was nur nicht im strengsten Sinne des Wortes, wider der Religion und Staat war. Auf gute Sitten ward nicht so sehr gesehen. Ziemlich freie Theaterstücke und Romane waren erlaubt und cursirten in der großen Welt."

²⁵ Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, I:127: "die von einer sehr zahlreichen und glänzenden Gesellschaft besucht wurden, nicht weil sie so vorzüglich waren, sondern weil es Mode war, unser Haus zu besuchen."

quickly repeated at her father's salon. During a game entitled "Geschichten spielen," the entire gathering split into two groups, each group presenting scenes from a famous play in pantomime. This manner of performance exercised knowledge, recognition, and judgement via active participation.

Political and social affairs were treated just as actively: in the 1790s Caroline's brother founded a literary society, the so-called "Samstags-Gesellschaft." All participants were required to contribute essays on a given subject every week, which were then read aloud and judged in discussion. The topics were chosen by the members:

The topics of these essays were sometimes philosophical, sometimes ethical, sometimes political; since the society met for three years regularly every week, and one week the essays were read, the following their critiques in the presence of all members, it is easy to see that a great number of essays of the utmost variety sprang from these meetings. The topics were chosen by the members in strict alternation.²⁶

Although women were not admitted to this politicised club, Caroline's brother read her essays anonymously. Women were supposed to entertain themselves with games, music and handcrafts such as embroidery.²⁷ Nevertheless, their social engagements still functioned to teach social interaction and exercise criticism.

²⁶ Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, I:196: "Die Gegenstände der Aufsätze waren theils philosophischer, theils moralischer, theils politischer Art, und da die Gesellschaft sich gegen drei Jahre erhielt und sie sich regelmäßig jede Woche versammelte, wo dann stäts einmal die Aufsätze und das nächste Mal die Beurtheilungen in Gegenwart aller Mitglieder vorgelesen wurden, so kann man leicht ermessen, dass der Ausarbeitungen eine bedeutende Zahl und von den verschiedensten Arten werden mussten. Die Gegenstände wurden von den Mitgliedern nach der Reihe aufgegeben."

²⁷ For the encoding of female values in opera buffa, see Caryl Clark, "Reading and Listening: Viennese Frauenzimmer Journals and the Sociocultural Context of Mozartean Opera Buffa," *Musical Quarterly* 87/1 (2004): 140-75.

Disguised as entertainment, a large aspect of both men's and women's education was the engagement with all matters social, political and artistic via the reading of the increasingly popular journals and almanacs. During the 1770s a total of seventy nine papers were inaugurated in Austria, most of them in Vienna, whereas the next decade boasted one hundred and sixty nine such journals.²⁸ While only comparatively few journals had a seminal role in the dissemination of enlightened political ideals – Sonnenfels' "Briefe über die Schaubühne" presenting a prime example – these seemingly diverting journals were increasingly instrumental in fostering notions of *Bildung* and taste in their readership. Moral weeklies were published side-by-side with entertainment pamphlets (Unterhaltungsblätter) as well as specialist subject journals. Many of these journals offered a hodgepodge of regular local events, such as market times and weather predictions, mixed with poems, gossip pages, book adverts, political reports and the theatre calendar. Others were more directly concerned with theatre news and brought reviews of plays staged in Vienna and abroad, while yet others specific to music, such as the *Musikalische Monatsschrift*, would supply a mixture of philosophical essays on music, historical tidbits and critical reviews as well as biographies etc.:

This monthly journal offers: theoretical maxims in general and for individual subjects: historical, critical news of the musicians and general personel at royal chapels and cities, of deaths, vacancies, promotions, of performances of church, theatre, chamber and dance music; short biographies of musicians,

²⁸ For an extensive list of journals published between 1740 and 1815, see Helmut W. Lang, "Die Zeitschriften in Österreich zwischen 1740 und 1815," in *Die österreichische Literatur*, ed. Herbert Zeman (Graz, 1979), 203-227.

anecdotes and announcements of old and new music, instruments and subscriptions etc.²⁹

A clear tendency towards the subject-specific papers characterised the 1790s. During the 1780s popularity lay with eclectic papers that did, however, seem to target a specific readership. Increasing numbers of women's magazines appeared between 1780 and 1783, but many of them were short-lived. Perhaps they fell victim to the increasing demand for more learned essays that also led to the demise of the highly popular entertainment "Blättchen" of the 1780s, which in the 1790s were either spruced up with more demanding writing or replaced altogether by specialist papers. In addition to the ever-growing domestic publishing industry, a number of journals were imported from northern Germany. Typically, the prefaces to these papers betray their eclectic nature:

Even in its first instalment this *Taschenbuch* earned great applause, so that I can hope that its audience will grant it even greater praise now. Many of our best poets have supported me with contributions ... some of our most illustrious composers have contributed their art. ... The reader can view this as a calendar, a booklet for entertainment, a guide while taking the baths in Teplitz, a little collection of good compositions, a small file of good engravings, instruction to game playing and dancing: there is something for everyone. ... I ask in particular for short descriptions of festivities in towns or countryside and of social gatherings, for descriptions of customs and habits, and for news of good social games.³⁰

²⁹ *Musikalische Monatsschrift* (Linz, 1803), 1-2: "Diese Monatschrift liefert: theoretische Lehrsätze im allgemeinen, so wie für einzelne Gegenstände: historische, kritische Nachrichten von dem Musik- und Personalstand mehrerer Kapellen, und Hauptstädte, von Todfällen, Vakaturen, Beförderungen u. von Aufführungen der Kirchen- Theater- Kammer- und Tanz-Musiken; kurze Biographien der Tonkünstler, Anekdoten u. Anzeigen von alten und neuern Musikalien, Instrumenten, Pränumerationen etc."

³⁰ *Taschenbuch zum geselligen Vergnügen* (Leipzig: Voß und Leo, 1794), Preface: "Dieses Taschenbuch hat schon in seiner ersten Gestalt einen so ausgezeichneten

The periodical offered subject matter for conversation or for solitary diversion; what is more, it invited the reader into the dialogue by soliciting submissions in the form of essays, reviews and news-worthy items. This magazine – like many others – thereby became a forum for creation and critical discussion, as it served not solely to present a more public forum for the dissemination of news, but also encouraged its readers to become creative. It is far from coincidental that these journals became fashionable in Vienna in the same two decades during which the city's chamber music activity increased dramatically.³¹ Rather, both developments were crops of the new educational ideals sown by the city's enlightened thinkers.

Nor is it coincidental that the particular structures of interaction which featured in chamber music were also promoted in the popular "Gesellschaftsspiele" (parlour games), practised in many Viennese salons. Countless games that exercised social integration were disseminated in "Spielesammlungen," printed all across Europe in the

Beifall erhalten, dass ich hoffen darf, das Publikum werde ihm nun noch einen größern schenken. Viele unserer besten Dichter haben mich mit Beiträgen unterstützt, die für sich selbst reden, und für die ich ihnen hier öffentlich danke. ... Verschiedene unserer berühmtesten Tonkünstler haben durch ihre Compositionen nicht weniger Verdienst darum. Das Publikum kann dieses Taschenbuch als Musenalmanach, als Calender, als Büchlein zur Unterhaltung, als Führer im Teplitzer Bade, als eine kleine Sammlung guter Compositionen, als ein kleines Portefeuille mit guten Kupferstichen, als eine Anweisung zu geselligen Spielen und zu Tänzen ansehen: es ist für Viele darinn gesorgt. Künftig soll immer eine Beschreibung von einem berühmten Bade beigelegt werden. ... Ich danke für die eingesickten Beiträge ... Ich werde in dessen gute und zweckmäßige Beiträge immer mit Dank annehmen: besonders bitte ich um kurze Beschreibungen von eingeführten städtischen und ländlichen Festen und geselligen Einrichtungen, um kleine Schilderungen von Sitten und Gebräuchen, und um Nachrichten von guten geselligen Spielen."

³¹ Within Europe at large, the market for popular journals flourished rather later in Vienna than in other large cities such as London and Paris.

1780s and particularly the 1790s, and their titles, such as *Der Beliebte Weltmensch* (The Popular Citizen of the World) published in Vienna in 1795 and *Les Jeux Innocents De Société* (Society's Innocent Games) published in Paris in 1790, are indicative of their socially educating agenda. The latter book carried the revealing subtitle "suitable to amuse oneself in an agreeable and instructive manner." Joseph Haydn's library included the popular *Natürliches Zauberbuch. Oder neu-eröffneter Spielplatz rarer Künste*, first printed in German in 1702, reprinted in 1740 and 1762 and frequently used in many "Spielgesellschaften" (playing circles).³² Although dangerously on the edge of frivolous pastime and always leading its participants close to the socially acceptable boundaries of sexual banter, these games nevertheless exercised ideals of individuality and communality by juxtaposing the individual's creativity and input with the general rules enforced by the group.

In addition, eclectic journals such as the *Taschenbuch zum geselligen Vergnügen* often had regular columns devoted to "the instruction in social game playing" (Anweisung zum geselligen Spielen). The denomination "gesellig" is crucial, as it implies not simply that these are group games, but rather that they inspire sociability, conviviality and gregariousness. The first instalment of the *Taschenbuch* included two mundane-seeming games that were played in a circle. Both gave ample opportunity for sexual banter which, however, happened under the watchful eyes of the rest of the circle.

³² Mozart's involvement with the Viennese game culture has been the subject of several recent studies, most prominently Günther Bauer, *Mozart: Glück, Spiel und Leidenschaft* (Bad Honnef: K.H. Bock, 2003).

The game, "Der Witwer," typically combines a very simple dance with singing. The group separates into couples so that one person remains single. The couples dance around the single person singing a given song; with each verse the tempo has to be increased and the single person has to try and catch a partner from the swirling couples. This very simple game may involve an element of cross-dressing to add to the amusement: if the company is dominated by either men or women some of these have to become the opposite sex for the purpose of the game. Another game, "Du mein Körbchen," expands on this very basic format, giving room for creativity as well as exercising the memory. A basket is passed randomly between people sitting in a circle and each person receiving the basket has to (verbally) add something to its contents. The person passing the basket has to try and catch his next victim by surprise and must therefore not pre-empt his choice. The pace of the game is determined by the individual in negotiation with the group, i.e. by his/ her quick inventiveness, but also by compliance in reiterating all that went before. The little inventive interlude functions like a mini cadenza or solo in chamber music, as the spotlight suddenly shines on one person who will, however, destroy the game, or at least frustrate his fellow players, if he lingers too long or too fancifully. This very basic game prepared players for greater challenges to each person's creativity in poetry games, which demanded ad hoc rhyming of couplets and larger verses. In the 1798 instalment of the *Taschenbuch*, the writer explained the need for games in general, but also for more challenging games than the two basic ones previously described:

It is curious how difficult it is for even the most sociable person to enjoy himself in a large company. If there is no particular point of community (Vereinigungspunkt) such as a dance, a game of cards, or a meal, which fills half of the day, one is often glad to relax from what one thought would be a relaxation in one's own company again. Social games that everyone knows how to play can only be played for about a quarter of an hour, because their punchline remains the same throughout. In an evening one can get through dozens of these. ... The spirit wants to be inspired and exercised just as the body does. Beyond a certain *Bildung* everything counts as effort and art.³³

Games provided a unique point of unification that straddled the line between intellectual engagement, artistic endeavour, amusement and the overcoming of social inhibitions. They functioned like an exercise or prelude to more serious exchanges in the form of discussions. The games following this opening gambit included a game of poetic questions and answers, in which the name of each participant was placed at the top of a sheet of paper. These were then distributed randomly and each person had to pose a question to the person at the top of the page. The sheets were given out randomly again and each person had to devise an answer to the question in the spirit of the person at the top of the page in rhyme form. The game therefore demanded the consideration of personalities and sensitivities.

Secondly, going beyond the demand for minimal creativity bound by

³³ *Taschenbuch zum geselligen Vergnügen*, 1798, Anhang, 3: "Es ist wunderbar wie schwer es dem geselligsten Menschen werden kann, sich in einer größeren Gesellschaft wirklich zu unterhalten. Wenn nicht ein ganz bestimmter Vereinigungspunkt statt findet, wie Tanz oder Kartenspiel, oder eine Mahlzeit, die den halben Tag ausfüllt, so ist man oft froh, sich von der vorgehabten Erholung im Stillen wieder zu erholen. Diejenigen gesellschaftlichen Spiele, welche etwa Jedermann gerecht sind, lassen sich nur eine Viertelstunde lang ohne Überdruß treiben, weil immer die nämliche Pointe wiederkehrt. Man verbraucht sie zu dutzenden in einem Abend. ... Der Geist will angeregt, will geübt seyn, wie der Körper. Jenseits einer gewissen Bildung ist alles Mühe und Kunst, auch die Freude, bis die Uebung sie wieder in Natur verwandelt."

strict patterns and rules, this game exercised the knowledge of artistic rules – the rules of rhyme. Here, art was created together in a communal exercise and its production far outweighed its outcome in significance. The artistic rules of the poem unified the participants. Similarly straddling the line between the artistic self and the communal self was the "Bezauberungsspiel," introduced in the 1802 instalment of the *Taschenbuch*. The game appeals to each person's childlike sensibilities by transferring the group into the imaginary world of the fairy tale. One person takes the role of the evil giant or magician, another has to be the damsel in distress – a princess taken captive by the giant. All the others are princes trying to free the princess. The giant has to invent obstacles for them to overcome which, needless to say, should be of a mental rather than physical nature. Here, the players invent charades, riddles, poems and songs in order to free the beloved. Within the safe confines of a communal game the individual is encouraged to trespass the boundaries between real self and romantic idealisation. Fairy-tale role-play is intermingled with strict rules.



In his cross-over anthropological and cultural study on the role of both game and playing, Johan Huizinga approaches the human desire for play as a factor that extends far beyond the developing child's biological demands and the adult's psychological workings.³⁴ Instead, play denotes a specific quality of action, which in itself has a

³⁴ Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: Vom Ursprung Der Kultur Im Spiel*, 18th edn (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2001).

social function and therefore displays social structures. Through these social structures games are "kulturbildend" – they create culture and they educate within this culture. The great impulses of society have their origin in a common culture. Order and a sense of justice, craftsmanship and art, knowledge, science and humanities spring from the belief in a common code of mythology and culture, which are negotiated through play.³⁵ Play is a fundamental necessity to culture and therefore to society, claims Huizinga. Here, the spiritual and the communal coincide in a manner that is neither biologically determined nor logically exposed.³⁶ Further, the idealised play gains its seriousness, meaning and value from the process and act of playing that at once inspires and enacts social negotiation. Through play, the individual is challenged to physical as well as intellectual involvement, and he becomes entangled in a web of "movement, a continuous up and down, alternation, a particular order, knotting and denouement" while the game is ongoing.³⁷ As such the game becomes a means to exercise, but also to dictate and control, behavioural patterns. Huizinga points out that the vocabulary commonly used to describe the actions occurring in game-playing are borrowed from aesthetics:

The vocabulary available to us to describe elements of play is mostly borrowed from aesthetics. It is the same that we use to attempt to describe the effects of the beautiful: tension, balance,

³⁵ Huizinga, *Homo ludens*, 12.

³⁶ "Spiel" in many ways equates Habermas' public sphere: it is an act of freedom, it is interactive and at the same time it takes a step out of ordinary life and reality. It deals with issues in a free, independent space. The game is disinterested. See also Huizinga. *Homo ludens*. 16.

³⁷ Huizinga. *Homo ludens*. 18.

negotiation, resolution, contrast, variation, connection and separation.³⁸

Interestingly, his list contains solely vocabulary used in aesthetics that is not static, but kinetic, and as such describes a process. Secondly, the aesthetic parameters invoked are ones that depend on more than one element in order to be meaningful, as the vocabulary he refers to describes relationships of one object to another, one person to another. As such, the player is active, *and* this activity is crucially defined through his relationship with something outside of himself. Here, comparison with the aesthetic parameters used to describe music is pressing; what is more, the comparison yields the option to read the musical text as a sequence of rules to a game that will solicit particular actions. Instead of viewing a musical work as a play on the rules of composition, we can view the performance as the play on the musical text, which makes the musical work not merely an aesthetic object, but also a social network.

In its first phases culture is play. It doesn't grow from play like a living fruit that separates from its womb, but it unfolds in and as play.³⁹

In performance, the acting out of music, art and play, coincide, as all combine the imagined and the real. But the act itself is not simply a

³⁸ Huizinga. *Homo ludens*. 19: "Die Wörter, mit denen wir die Elemente des Spiels benennen können, gehören zum größten Teil in den Bereich des Ästhetischen. Es sind Wörter, mit denen wir auch Wirkungen der Schönheit zu bezeichnen suchen: Spannung, Gleichgewicht, Auswägen, Ablösung, Kontrast, Variation, Bindung und Lösung."

³⁹ Huizinga. *Homo ludens*. 189: "Kultur in ihren ursprünglichen Phasen wird gespielt. Sie entspringt nicht *aus* Spiel, wie eine lebende Frucht sich von ihrem Mutterleibe löst, sie entfaltet sich *in* Spiel und *als* Spiel."

representation, but rather an identification. This identification is ultimately responsible for play's (and music's) capacity to be "bildend", to form a social structure.

2. The Alliance of Art and Entertainment

One potentially problematic aspect of evaluating music via the act of playing rather than via the notion of the work of art lies in the way in which "play" and "game" connote "entertainment" in opposition of the seriousness of art. Yet art and entertainment are surely not diametrically opposed. Recent studies have highlighted the seminal status of wit in late eighteenth-century art. Yet wit is usually seen to function in a way intrinsic to the work. Further, wit is theorised as a highly respectable, serious category that may be applied to art. However, countless journals from the late eighteenth century that combine serious essays on aesthetics, etc., with instructions for games, and philosophical essays on the nature of music with simple song attachments, demonstrate that for the eighteenth-century reader the education of taste was not undermined by amusement. Here, the formation of taste and *Vergnügen* coexisted.

Sonnenfels pointed out that the theatre, a popular *Vergnügen*, may be a decisive tool in the teaching of moral values. With an eye on the Viennese predilection for all manner of theatrical and musical entertainment, the archivist, librettist and later founding member of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, Joseph Ferdinand Sonnleithner, theorised *Vergnügen* and *Vergnügungen* in his 1798 tract

"Untersuchungen über die Vergnügungen." He allied himself with Sonnenfels in his opening gambit:

Nothing betrays the genius and character of a people with more clarity, and nothing contributes so much to its *Bildung* as the choice of its *Vergnügen*.⁴⁰

Defining *Vergnügen* as a state of the soul, in which one feels the desire for a momentary sensation to continue, he explains:

The science of *Vergnügen* is actually the science of blissful happiness, which rests in a continual state of pleasurable feelings.⁴¹

Vergnügungen are a series of changing impressions, a number of physical and rational sensations that can guarantee this continuation.⁴² Sonnleithner stressed that sensual and rational stimulations bring forth *Vergnügen* and pleasure, but that this feeling within man can only be sustained by a continual change in the outer stimulants. This change is given when the manner of *Vergnügung* that one entertains causes one to use one's "tools and powers". The use of man's tools and powers, however, is nothing but the interaction with

⁴⁰ Joseph Sonnleithner, *Philosophische Untersuchungen der Vergnügungen* (Wien: Anton Lorenz Zentz, 1798), 9: "Nichts zeigt uns das Genie, und den Karakter eines Volkes deutlicher, und nicht trägt zugleich mehr bey, demselben seine Bildung zu geben, als die Auswahl seiner Vergnügen." Incidentally, *Vergnügungen* therefore function like taste: at once as a yardstick and as a shaping force. They function at once to extend a person's *Bildung* as well as being a nation unifying and forming force, *ibid.*: "In der Prüfung der Gründe, warum man eine Art der Vergnügungen vor der anderen wählt, entdeckt der Philosoph Mittel, die Kenntniss des Menschen auszudehnen, und der Gesetzgeber wird neue Triebfedern auffinden, durch die er die Nationalsitte umstalten, geschmeidiger machen kann."

⁴¹ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 10: "Die Wissenschaft des Vergnügens ist im eigentlichen Verstande die Wissenschaft der Glückseligkeit, die in einem dauerhaften Zustande angenehmer Empfindungen beruhet."

⁴² Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 11.

the chosen *Vergnügung*.⁴³ He concluded that only active engagement with the stimulants can create lasting impressions. These impressions can be pleasurable (*angenehm*) or uncomfortable (*unangenehm*), even painful. Whether they stimulate pain or pleasure, according to Sonnleithner, is determined by their degree in relation to one's own tools and powers: if they exceed the boundaries of one's tools they exceed their use with respect to that person's pleasure; they overextend him and become pain rather than pleasure.⁴⁴

Everything therefore is *Vergnügen*, that exercises our faculties without exhausting them, which means exercising them in a way that is appropriate to their strength and purpose.⁴⁵

In order to relate properly to our sense of *Vergnügen*, a *Vergnügung* must act in proportion to our faculties of sensual and rational perception and it must be in constant flux, presenting a series of stimulants that balance each other and probe our faculties continually.⁴⁶

⁴³ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 13.

⁴⁴ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 13-14: "Wir wissen aus der Erfahrung, dass der Gebrauch unserer Werkzeuge, und Kräfte, uns entweder angenehme, oder unangenehme Eindrücke bringe. Wenn dieser Gebrauch der Bestimmung dieser Kräfte, und Werkzeuge entspricht, so ist der Eindruck davon so geartet, dass wir die Fortsetzung wünschen, das ist, er bringt Vergnügen. Wenn hingegen der Gebrauch die Schranken dieser Bestimmung entweder gar nicht erreicht, oder überschreitet, so ist der Eindruck davon nicht vermögend, uns zum Wunsch seiner Fortdauer zu bewegen, und dieses nennen wir Schmerz."

⁴⁵ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 14: "Alles ist daher Vergnügen, was unsere Werkzeuge und unsere Kräfte, ohne sie zu ermatten, das heißt, auf eine solche Art übet, die ihrer Stärke und ihrem Zwecke angemessen ist."

⁴⁶ *Vergnügen* is what we feel – it is an effect and is as yet value free. The effect is created in different parts of us: either physical sensation, mind or soul. *Vergnügungen* are the events or activities that create these effects. They must be judged and shaped according to the desired effect. Most of them work on more than one of the above.

The *Vergnügungen* therefore are based on or modelled to the feeling of *Vergnügen*, with its characteristic ever-changing and stimulating nature. This stimulation can take three forms according to Sonnleithner: the physical (*körperlich*), the rational (*geistig*) and the soulful (*des Herzens*).⁴⁷ *Vergnügungen* therefore exercise the body, the mind or the heart, and many are mixed forms fusing these three elements in different proportions. Sonnleithner relates different types of *Vergnügungen* to these effects: "physical exercise, hunting, dance, music, theatre, and the playing of games."⁴⁸ The most direct mapping is guaranteed by sporting entertainment which presents a physical *Vergnügung* or - as Sonnleithner calls it - sensual *Vergnügung*, i.e. an entertainment that pertains to the physical senses. Dance, too, is primarily a sensual entertainment as it is a branch of physical exercise, which is at the same time an expression of vivacious joy.⁴⁹ However, dance exceeds mere physical pleasure:

Even all those people, who according to their physical strength should abstain from strong movements, but who do not belong to the lowest classes and who can therefore express their joy in finer forms, who are far removed from their childhood, even they find pleasure in dance, continue practising it into old age and feel, when they dance, the true *Vergnügen*.⁵⁰

Dance also inspires rational entertainment (*geistiges Vergnügen*) through its sense of order and harmony:

⁴⁷ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 15.

⁴⁸ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 34.

⁴⁹ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 47.

⁵⁰ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 48: "Indeß finden doch auch die Leute, die nach ihren Umständen sich aller starken Bewegungen enthalten sollten, die nicht in die Klasse des Pöbels gehören, die ihre Freude auf eine feinere Art äußern könnten, auch weit über die Kindesjahre sind, am Tanzen Geschmack, behalten ihn auch richtig bis in das Alter, und fühlen, wenn sie tanzen, das wahre Vergnügen."

In us we carry a strong inclination towards harmony and order; an orderly, thought-out movement leaves a more pleasurable impression on our organs than a disorderly one.⁵¹

Dance feeds both a naturally pleasurable physical sensation and a natural desire for order, which is a matter of Geist. However, Sonnleithner warns that one can also derive pleasure from vanity in dance, which is derived from the admiration gained by contorting one's body in virtuosic twists and turns. This dangerous pleasure, however, is derived not from the dance itself, but from the mere pleasure of adulation, which feeds vanity; it is not derived from the sense of order or the sense of physical stimulation.

The second type of *Vergnügen* inspired through "Übung des Geistes" (exercising the mind), according to Sonnleithner, is naturally rooted in man's instinct of self-preservation and in his inner urge towards a communal life.⁵² These two natural inclinations are satisfied by two rational faculties, both of which need to be inspired in order for a *Vergnügung* to be rational. These two are *Vernunft* and *Einbildungskraft*, the power of imagination:

The discovery of truth, beauty, and the variety of images painted of our desires fills us with pleasurable impressions, and the proper use of *Vernunft* and imagination is a rich source of *Vergnügungen*.⁵³

⁵¹ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 49: "Es befindet sich in uns eine große Neigung zur Harmonie, und Ordnung; eine abgemessene, eine ordentlich ausgezirkelte Bewegung macht auf unsere Organen einen ungleich angenehmeren Eindruck, als eine unordentliche."

⁵² Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 17.

⁵³ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 18: "Die Entdeckung der Wahrheit, die Schönheit, und Mannigfaltigkeit der Gemälde von Gegenständen unserer Bedürfnisse erfüllet uns mit angenehmen Eindrücken, und ein anständiger Gebrauch der Vernunft, und der Einbildungskraft ist eine reichhaltige Quelle der Vergnügungen."

The natural tendency towards "Gesellschaftlichkeit" (communal life) grants that *Vergnügungen* gain by being communally exercised:

the good of one person cannot exist without the good of the others. This is the reason why the inclination towards being communal is so effective in man; if we surrender ourselves to it we will feel the most vivid and the happiest *Vergnügen*, which ensue very naturally if we follow our utmost duty.⁵⁴

Through the communal act *Vergnügungen* impact both the senses and the rational spirit (*Geist*). Although a great number of theatrical performances act both on the senses and on reason, true theatre acts primarily on the latter.⁵⁵ Here, *Geist* is required to judge the portrayal of characters and passions, the artistry in the performance, the beauty of expression. Finally, it requires *Geist* to judge whether the imitation of reality is fortunate or not.⁵⁶

The third type of *Vergnügungen* acts upon the soul and is best found in all manner of game playing. Here, neither mind nor body is particularly stimulated, but the heart is moved through the passions, which in turn are inspired by imagination and desire.⁵⁷

Often the gambling factor – abandoning rational control – makes the heart beat faster, yet without any physical danger. The continual semblance of feelings such as danger, luck and suspense guarantees

⁵⁴ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 19: "unmöglich kann das Wohl einer einzelnen Person ohne das Wohl der anderen bestehen. Dies ist der Grund, warum der Trieb zur Gesellschaft so mächtig auf den Menschen wirkt, und, wenn wir uns demselben überlassen, empfinden wir die lebhaftesten, und seligsten Vergnügen, welche ganz natürlich aus der Erfüllung unserer vornehmsten Pflicht erfolgen."

⁵⁵ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 65: "Nichts desto weniger hat das Theater für Menschen von Verstand sehr viel zum Vergnügen des Geistes an sich."

⁵⁶ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 65.

⁵⁷ "Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 70: Die Hauptquelle des Spielvergnügens muß man daher in den Leidenschaften suchen."

the steady flux of stimulants, which defines the feeling of *Vergnügen*. Opposed to *Vergnügen* is either boredom or exhaustion, i.e. under- or over-stimulation. The physical *Vergnügungen* are most endangered here, the rational ones less so. The soulful ones, however, are least likely to suffer from one or the other as they usually gain from repetition:

The rational *Vergnügen* are a different story; you can commit to them for a long time without getting tired of them, ... The *Vergnügen* of the heart are even less prone to wearing out, you will never tire of them. The more you repeat certain charitable actions, the more you will feel their sweetness, and you will desire the continuation of such pure and pleasurable feelings.⁵⁸

In order to go beyond the primordial pleasure that serves the procreative nature of man, any physical pleasure ought to be combined with either a rational or soulful pleasure; the rational and soulful pleasures, however, can be valuable of their own accord. Still, a combination is always optimal as the pleasures enhance each other:

The *Vergnügen* of soul and spirit don't need to be aided by anything else, their pleasure is wedded to their own nature. Although they assist each other and their stimulations communicate with each other, they are not dependent on each other, but increase each other's worth.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 22: "Mit den geistigen Vergnügen hat es eine ganz andere Bewandnis; man kann sich denselben lange überlassen, ohne darob einen Eckel zu bekommen, und ohne eine Gefahr zu befürchten, ... Die Vergnügen des Herzens sind diesen Ungemächlichkeiten noch weniger untergeben; man wird derselben gar nicht müde. Je öfter man gewisse wohltätige Handlungen wiederholt, desto mehr empfindet man ihre Süßigkeit, und wünschet die Fortsetzung so reiner, und angenehmer Empfindungen."

⁵⁹ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 28: "Die Vergnügen des Geistes und der Seele hingegen sind keiner fremden Hilfe bedürftig, und ihr Gefälliges ist an ihr eigenes Wesen gekettet. Obwohl sie einander zu Hilfe kommen, und sich ihre Reitze mittheilen, so sind sie doch deßwegen von einander nicht abhängig, sondern erhöhen nur eines den Werth des andern."

Sonnleithner orders the different types of *Vergnügen* into a hierarchy according to the effect they have on man.⁶⁰ The "Vergnügen des Herzens" rank above the other two:

They are the most independent, vivid, and the most widely spread in society; they are useful to our sentiments and they are safe from all unpleasant consequences; they are the ones that fill the soul entirely, and the other *Vergnügungen* are in fact nothing but their servants.⁶¹

Of all *Vergnügungen*, music is the one that combines all three elements and is made most noble through its combination of physical and soulful effects. Firstly, music effects via the senses, i.e. physiologically:

The pleasure of music is dependent mostly on our senses. There seems to be a natural parallel between the tools of our hearing, certain sounds, their vibrations and the oscillation of the fibres. Sounds must necessarily leave a pleasurable impression on our ears.⁶²

But the *Vergnügung* of music is not limited to a pleasurable effect on the fibres of our bodies alone; rather, it combines this effect with the

⁶⁰ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 29: "Die Vergnügungen der Sinne sind nur des untersten Platzes würdig, weil sie dem Uiberdrusse, dem Eckel mehr unterworfen, weil sie unvollkommener, beschränkter, und härter, als die andern, zu befriedigen sind, dann weil ihre Angewohnheit von den gefährlichsten Folgen ist. Die Vergnügungen des Geistes übertreffen sie weit, indem sie keiner dieser Unbequemlichkeiten ausgesetzt, und immer fähig sind, uns mit einer reinen Zufriedenheit zu erfüllen; doch müssen sie einen kleinen Zusatz von den Vergnügen der Leidenschaften haben, denn, wenn ihnen nicht Ehrentrieb, und Geschmack an guten Thaten zu Hilfe kommt, so verfallen sie in Mattigkeit."

⁶¹ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 29: "Sie sind am meisten unabhängig, lebhaft, ausgebreitet, der Gesellschaft, und dem Empfinden nützlich, und vor allen unangenehmen Folgen gesichert; sie sind es, die die Seele ganz erfüllen, und die andern Vergnügungen sind in der That selbst nichts als Diener, und Aufwärter, die dem gebietenden Vergnügen zum Dienste, und zur Zierde gewidmet sind."

⁶² Sonnleithner. *Vergnügungen*, 56: "Das Vergnügen der Musik ist größtentheils von den Sinnen abhängig. Es scheint zwischen den Werkzeugen des Gehörs, und gewissen Klängen, zwischen ihren Vibrationen, und den Erschütterungen jener Fibern, eine ursprüngliche Gleichheit zu bestehen. Die Klänge müssen nothwendig auf das Gehör angenehme Eindrücke machen."

Vergnügen des Geistes. According to Sonnleithner, in music *Geist* exercises judgements without our even noticing:

The vibrations of sounding objects have a certain relationship to each other, which pleases or displeases; in order to judge its pleasantness our soul counts and compares them without being aware of doing so. If this relationship is not difficult to grasp and if it is in accordance with that which we call the beautiful, our soul will be *vergnügt*, and it will be exercised without getting tired.⁶³

In addition, music appeals to man's natural tendency towards order and harmony:

We feel pleasure wherever we meet with order, and the cadences of music show us this order in a tangible, sensual manner.⁶⁴

Music makes our natural disposition towards order tangible by translating a physical sensation into a rational sensation. Further, music's physical sensation acts upon our emotions, because it is a natural one beyond rational control:

If (music) expresses sounds that exist in nature but are of no interest to man, then its pleasure is nothing but the pleasure we feel when we encounter a good imitation. But if it meets the tone of our passions and if its tones and modulations are employed according to the external signs of our soul's movements, then they come alive; its *Vergnügen*, which is mixed with the pleasure of the heart, reaches the highest degree of liveliness.⁶⁵

⁶³ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 58: "Die Vibrationen der klingenden Körper haben unter sich ein gewisses Verhältniß, welches gefällt, oder mißfällt, und, um ihre Annehmlichkeit zu beurtheilen, zählt und vergleicht sie die Seele, ohne es selbst zu bemerken. Wenn dieses Verhältniß nicht schwer zu begreifen, und demjenigen gemäß ist, was wir das Schöne nennen, so vergnügt sich der Geist daran, und übt sich damit, ohne müde zu werden."

⁶⁴ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 59: "Überall vergnügen wir uns, wo wir Ordnung treffen, und die Kadenz der Musik zeigt uns diese Ordnung auf eine fühlbare Art."

⁶⁵ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 60: "Wenn sie Klänge ausdrückt, die in der Natur bestehen, ohne jedoch den Menschen zu interessieren, so ist ihre Annehmlichkeit weiter nichts, als was wir bey Entdeckung einer wohl gerathenen Nachahmung fühlen. Wenn sie aber den Ton unserer Leidenschaften trifft, und, wenn sie Töne und

Sonnleithner warns that music's power is often stifled by habit.⁶⁶ Habit impedes the critical faculties and ultimately numbs music's natural effect, particularly if other people's judgement and opinion rate above one's own "giving oneself up" to music. Music, therefore, should be the state's concern, and state leaders must guide music's natural and highly influential powers:

Because music is one of the most natural *Vergnügen* and because, quite apart from the influence on a nation's habits, it gives the happiness that is necessary for kindness of character and the calm within the state, music is in every way worth the law giver's attention.⁶⁷

Sonnleithner credits all manner of *Vergnügungen* as worthy of the law-giver's attention because they inspire men of every level of *Bildung* and can become a substantial aid in furthering this *Bildung*. He attributes to music particularly strong powers to educate the individual in his status within society and, beyond this, within a nation. Music is powerful beyond the other *Vergnügungen*, because it stimulates all our faculties: the physical, the rational and the soulful. Music is pleasure to ear and body, mind and heart, and this all-encompassing pleasurable feeling shapes the individual. In Sonnleithner's understanding, music presents a constant flux of

Modulationen so anwendet, wie sie sich zu den äußerlichen Zeichen der Bewegung unserer Seele schicken, dann bekömmt sie ein Leben, und ihr Vergnügen, das sich mit dem Vergnügen des Herzens vermengt, erreicht die höchste Stufe der Lebhaftigkeit."

⁶⁶ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 61: "Unterdessen nehmen doch auf die Art, dieses Vergnügen zu geniessen, das Vorurtheil, und die Gewohnheit, den größten Einfluß."

⁶⁷ Sonnleithner, *Vergnügungen*, 117: "Weil die Musik eines der natürlichsten Vergnügen ist, und, ausser dem Einflusse auf die Sitten einer Nazion, die zur Güte des Charakters, und zur Ruhe des Staates nöthige Fröhlichkeit giebt, so ist sie auf jede Weise der Unterstützung des Gesetzgebers würdig."

impulses, but it is less likely than other *Vergnügungen* to over-stimulate us. Music makes us feel order and harmony. Here, body, mind and soul are allied with each other in a dialogue between sensation and recognition.

In writing this essay Sonnleithner makes an important statement regarding the significance of entertainment in the formation and education of a nation. Importantly, he assesses activities within the framework of entertainment and thereby comprises the arts amongst these entertainments, because entertainment is anything that stimulates mind or body. Further, Sonnleithner elevates instrumental music by making a strong case for its effectiveness. In his discussion of music, music's effect does not rest on words or other connections with concepts. Instead, music speaks through shapes and gestures that, on the one hand, correspond to man's feelings and, on the other, enhance these feelings if they are exercised in accordance with, or towards the good of, society. Thirdly, Sonnleithner stresses the importance of frequent repetition. Neither the gestures themselves nor their repetition, however, rely on a process of formal recognition in order to be effective. According to Sonnleithner, music is not effective primarily as a rational pursuit: although the recognition of musical conventions, either internal to the compositional text or those that reference extra-musical events, may add to the pleasure of music, its real strength lies in moving the soul in a pleasurable and entertaining manner. What is more, this pleasure and entertainment is most commonly perceived communally. The popular pastime of making music together, then, couples the demand for an inner susceptibility

with an outward expression in the form of gestures, which replace all verbal communication between the players. Through frequent repetition and the repeated joy of feeling the gestures, their social implications – provided by the communal act of playing – become ingrained and habitual. They shape *Sitten* that are stabilised through their appeal to man's senses of individuality and communality in frequent alternation, thereby creating the illusion of an alliance rather than a juxtaposition between them.

Sonnleithner concludes that the feeling of *Vergnügen* is essential to the arts, because it is essential to the process of education. The feeling of *Vergnügen* tears through the boundaries between the physical and soulful on one hand and the rational on the other, and only the amalgamation of the two can yield lasting impressions, which will form the individual. In order for art to fulfil its function of forming the individual it has to be *vergnüglich*, which, according to Sonnleithner, implies that it exceeds neither man's rational nor his emotional capacities, capturing him instead in a pleasurable flux of changing, yet recognisable emotions. The motions of music naturally grant the fluctuation of feeling, as does its production through physical gestures allied to these emotions. Music, then, is capable of unpacking the emotive contents of other arts such as painting and sculpture, letting them appear in linear succession and thereby teaching how the passions arise, flower and transform into the next passion. Music is the pleasurable indoctrination of the individual with the alliance between individual emotion and communal perception.

Chapter IV: Empiricism and Rationalism in the Viennese Enlightenment

1. Performing Haydn's "The Creation"

Concert at Count Fries. Never has the music of *The Creation* pleased me as much although there were but nine instruments and, above all, no wind instruments. Madame Schoenfeld sang like an angel, Reitmeyer quite well, and the Prince Lobkowitz - despite his lack of timbre - with great expression.¹

This remark, which Count Carl Zinzendorf entered in his diary on the 4th of April 1800 is doubly noteworthy: firstly, contemporaneous performance descriptions of Haydn's *The Creation* usually account for large numbers of performers, ranging customarily between one hundred and eighty and two hundred participants.² Secondly, Zinzendorf deemed the small-scale performance more pleasurable than those involving these grandiose forces, a judgement that surprises in light of *The Creation*'s conception and its general reception. For *The Creation* was conceived by its creators, Joseph Haydn and Baron van Swieten, within a context of oratorio performances that fuelled a growing taste for large-scale grandeur. Van Swieten's interest in the

¹ Edward Olleson, "Haydn in the Diaries of Count Karl von Zinzendorf," *Haydn Yearbook* II (1963-64), at 45-63: "Au concert chez Fries. Jamais la musique de la Creation ne m'a plu autant quoiqu'il n'y avait que neuf instrumens, et surtout point d'instrumens a vent. Me de Schoenfeld chanta comme un Ange, Reitmeyer tres bien, et le Pce Lobkowitz malgré son peu de timbre avec expression."

² For a summary of performances between 1798 and 1810 see A. Peter Brown, *Performing Haydn's The Creation. Reconstructing the Earliest Renditions* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986). Brown mistakenly lists nine wind players as the performers on April, 4th 1800. Robbins Landon notes the same diary entry and conjectures that the performance at Fries' palace used "one of Wranitzky's arrangements, i.e. for string quintet or sextet, the former with piano and the latter with flute" to accompany the vocal parts. See H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works. The Years of 'The Creation', 1796-1800* (Bloomington, London: Indiana University Press, 1977), 546. This assumption remains speculative.

music of J.S. Bach and G.F. Händel was aroused during his sojourn in Berlin, and he promptly introduced the "ancient" repertoire to the Viennese upon his return to the city. His salons, held regularly on Sundays at his rooms in the imperial library, which he headed as director, served him to explore the repertoire from his extensive private musical collection, and here Handel's oratorios were first played in reduced versions. Clubbing together with some of Vienna's wealthy noblemen, van Swieten founded the "Gesellschaft der Assoziierten" in 1786 in order to perform these Oratorios with the same grand forces that their staging now customarily involved in England. There - in Handel's chosen homeland - the oratorios had long since granted the composer's elevation to a compositional "classic," a musical Milton.³ Both the choice of subject and the musical setting of *The Creation* were to tap into the cultural imagination aroused by these large-scale oratorio performances, and van Swieten clearly envisaged a musical setting that could match its grand subject with expressive sublimity.⁴ Contemporary reviewers were quick to credit the work with "grandeur and the sublime" (Morning Herald, March 28th 1800), with being "one of its kind" and displaying the "free play of art" (Letters to a friend, Berlin, January 8th 1801).⁵

³ Suzanne Aspden, "Fam'd Handel breathing, tho' transformed to stone": The composer as monument," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55/1 (spring 2002): 39-90; Claudia Johnson, "Giant Handel and the musical sublime," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* XIX/4 (summer 1986): 515-33.

⁴ Edward Olleson, "The Origin and Libretto of Haydn's 'Creation'," *Haydn Yearbook* (1968): 148-68; Herbert Zeman, "Das Textbuch Gottfried van Swietens zu Joseph Haydns "Die Schöpfung," in *Dichtung und Musik*, ed. G. Schnitzler (Stuttgart, 1979), 70-98.

⁵ Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Years of the Creation*, 574 and 588.

It seems that the oratorio's sublime effects resulted in part from the large forces customarily drawn on to perform the work. But, beyond the sheer force of sound, it was the artful combination of the instruments employed to create the semblance of chaos turning into order – albeit portrayed by the necessarily orderly means that underlie any musical composition – that inspired so many writers to praise the work's effectiveness:

The Overture describes chaos. A gigantic unison of all instruments, at the same time a light-less and formless mass, are suggested to our imagination. From it single notes come forth, which in turn spawn others. There are spun forth forms and figures, without line and order, that disappear only to appear again in different guise. Movement begins. Huge forces grate against each other and begin to gestate, and occasionally, as if fortuitously, they dissolve harmonically and then sink back into darkness. A swirling and twisting of unknown forces, which gradually separate themselves and leave clear breaks, announce that order is near. Each flood gradually seeks its proper bed, not without forcing. Here a star moves in its path, there another one. The swimming forces approach land, Similar forms attract each other and embrace. It is night. And God spoke: Let there be light! And there was light!⁶

Stark juxtapositions such as light and darkness, chaos and order, force and gentleness, turgidity and clarity were central to these descriptions of *The Creation's* musical sublime:

... It is called the Representation of Chaos. Here there are almost all available instruments for the theme and substance (Stoff und Materialien) out of which a gigantic, limitless fabric of artistic splendour is woven and organised. The argument that it is impossible to depict chaos by harmonic, melodic and rhythmic means falls to pieces here in view of a subtle intellectual pretension (Verstandesprätension) with which any composer can

⁶ "Correspondence, January 8th 1801," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* III (1802): 289-96, quoted in translation from Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Years of 'The Creation'*, 588.

if necessary excuse himself for not wanting to solve such a task if he were faced with it. Yet despite this appearance of impossibility, of contradiction, of (as it were) the fabulous – this is, at the same time, the most poetic and thus the best of the whole plan, and our master has presented it in a truly poetic, rich and original fashion. There reigns here the richest luxury of chords, figures and passages, presented in oriental splendour and revealing a treasure of genius and art, such as a musical prince might display for the ear and taste of his most noble guest, and which rises out of the vastly deep like the morning sun.⁷

The latter review reveals a significant insight into the relationship between compositional process and effectiveness. At first, *The Creation*'s sublime effect appears to rely on its limitless vastness, its gigantic forces, its semblance of presenting the impossible. Yet, its true artistry lies in its ingenious plan that betrays an overall poetic insight, which binds together its disparate strands. Here, the reviewer appears to have invoked a compositional model akin to Sulzer's theories of *Anlage*, *Ausführung* and *Ausarbeitung*, in which the composer's ingenuity resides primarily in the initial conception of a piece of music.⁸ Ultimately, the reviewer suggests, the work's sublime effect relies on the ingenuity of this overall plan and conception.

A reduction of the score, then, to but nine instruments and three voices is far less anathema to the work's effects than it might at first appear and, in fact, Haydn himself was quick to oversee the production

⁷ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* III: 385-96, quoted in translation from Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Years of 'The Creation'*, 594.

⁸ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, II: 86-94, § Erfindung; I: 148-149, § Anlage; and IV: 224-27, § Satz; Setzkunst. In this point Sulzer's model can be regarded as representative of late eighteenth century compositional theory resembling many others such as Koch's compositional model as proposed in Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, 3 vols. (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969). These compositional models will be discussed further in Chapter V. See also Ian Bent, "The Compositional Process in Music Theory 1713-1850," *Music Analysis* 3/1 (March 1984): 29-55.

of arrangements of *The Creation* for small forces. Artaria offered an arrangement of the oratorio for "2 Violinen, 2 Violon und Violoncello," prepared by Anton Wranitzky some time in early 1800:

We have the honour of announcing that *The Creation*, which was recently issued in score, may now be had not only in quintets for 2 violins, 2 violas and violoncello arranged by Hrn. Anton Wranitzky, but also for the Klavier or fortepiano with all vocal parts arranged by Hrn. Sigmund Neukomm with every precision, energy and great fidelity to the beauties and originality of the full score; both are for sale in this art shop... The price of the Quintets is 6 fl. 40 kr., of the piano score 6fl. 40kr.⁹

Wranitzky, who had studied composition with Haydn and subsequently assumed a post as Kapellmeister of Prince Lobkowitz' private orchestra, was held in high esteem as a violin virtuoso and pedagogue in Viennese society. In a letter to his friend and later biographer Georg August Griesinger, Haydn applauded Wranitzky's quintet arrangement of *The Creation*:

As far as the arrangement of *The Seasons* for quartet or quintet is concerned, I think that Herr Wranitzky, (Kapellmeister) at Prince Lobkowitz, should receive the preference, not only because of this fine arrangement of *The Creation*, but also because I am sure that he will not make use of it to further his own ends.¹⁰

An arrangement for *Harmoniemusik* (wind ensemble) had begun to circulate Vienna shortly after 1800,¹¹ an arrangement for string

⁹ *Wiener Zeitung*, No.24, 8.3.1800. Quoted in translation from Robbins-Landon, *Haydn: The Years of 'The Creation'*, 542.

¹⁰ Letter Joseph Haydn to Georg August Griesinger Oct. 1st 1801. Quoted in translation from H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works. The Late Years. 1801-1809* (Thames and Hudson, 1977 and 1994), 79-80.

¹¹ Manuscript parts for the Harmonie arrangement of *The Creation* made by the timpanist Georg Druschetzky survive at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna (A-Wgm, VIII 40509). Pleyel published an arrangement for Harmoniemusik in 1802; Wolfgang Suppan suggests that a harmony arrangement was prepared from Haydn's autograph for the *Grenadier-Kompagnie* in Eisenstadt, which Haydn was in charge of and which had been re-founded after a three year intercession in 1800. Wolfgang

quartet, prepared by Ignaz Franz v. Mosel, was published by T.Mollo & Comp. in 1805. These arrangements were in line with similar arrangements of a long list of operas and oratorios for smaller forces, paying a significant tribute to the ever-growing amateur market. Mozart's *Magic Flute*, *Don Giovanni* and *Figaro*, as well as *The Abduction from the Seraglio* circulated around the Viennese salons in arrangements for string quartet and quintet, and by 1815 *Wellington's Victory* and *Fidelio* had both been issued in quintet transcriptions.¹²

The musicological narrative on 'Bearbeitungen' – quite literally re-workings – of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries establishes a threefold categorisation for these artistically 'impure' creations: a composer's own re-workings for alternate performing forces are rated highest. Whereas this category of "work" may at times have sparked disputes over the ranking of a work's different versions, the second category – that of the piano arrangement of large scale works – fits into a much neater place. Prepared for study and rehearsal purposes, the piano arrangement is a mere tool that does not claim any artistic authenticity or integrity, or so the story goes.¹³ The third class comprises two different genres, and I believe that subsuming

Suppan, "Die Harmoniemusik - Das private Repräsentations- und Vergnügungsensemble des mitteleuropäischen Adels – zwischen Kunst und gesellschaftlichem Gebrauchswert," in *Musica Privata*, ed. Monica Fink, Rainer Gstrein and Günter Mössmer (Innsbruck: Edition Helbling, 1991), 151-165.

¹² C.F. Whistling and Hofmeister, ed., *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur oder allgemeines systematisch geordnetes Verzeichnis gedruckter Musikalien*. 2nd edn. (Leipzig, 1828).

¹³ The literature on eighteenth-century arrangements is mostly restricted to the arrangements of works by canonic composers, see f.ex. Marius Flothuis, *Mozarts Bearbeitungen eigener und fremder Werke* (Kassel, Basel, Paris, London: Bärenreiter, 1969) and Imogen Fellerer, "Mozarts Bearbeitungen eigener Werke," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1952): 70-76.

both under the same umbrella category is debatable as they fulfilled different functions and can, therefore, not claim the same aesthetic status. On the one hand we have transcriptions or arrangements of complete operas, oratorios and symphonies for smaller forces, mostly string quintet, string quartet and wind ensemble; on the other, there is an almost uncontrollable array of "favourite tunes from ..." and potpourris for an equally colourful instrumental soundscape. It has been assumed that this third category comprises all those arrangements that smack of amateurish *divertissement* and must by definition have been merely tolerated by the composers. According to Flothuis the arrangements for *Harmonie*, like those for piano, can serve today as an indicator of a work's popularity:

Piano arrangements might stem from the work's popularity; but perhaps the copyists (Lausch) and publishers (Artaria) merely intended to bring the dances to those people, who didn't keep an orchestra themselves. These primitive, sometimes plain bad arrangements are not to be taken as real Mozart.¹⁴

This crushing verdict defines arrangements as historical sources or rather social documents, but denies them aesthetic value.¹⁵ That this categorical separation between the social and the aesthetic is

¹⁴ Marius Flothuis, "Mozart bearbeitet und variiert, parodiert und zitiert," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1980-83): 196-207, at 196: "Bei Klavierbearbeitungen handelt es sich vielleicht ebenfalls um Popularität; vielleicht aber wollten die Kopisten (Lausch) und die Verleger (Artaria) die Tänze unter die Menschen bringen, die selber kein Orchester hatten. Mit Mozart haben diese durchweg primitiven, wenn nicht gar schlechten Bearbeitungen nichts zu tun."

¹⁵ I define "historical source" as a document that contributes to the painting of a social picture, to a picture of society as it functioned and developed. The aesthetic source on the other hand is one divorced from a societal function; aesthetic sources establish their own narrative. My second chapter has already established that this distinction is superimposed onto the eighteenth-century and not in line with contemporaneous aesthetic ideologies.

untenable in light of late eighteenth-century musical sources, aesthetic theories and educational ideals is the subject of the present chapter.



The struggle to instate music, and instrumental music in particular, as an art suffused late eighteenth-century music theory and aesthetic writings. Ultimately, the battle to explain its aesthetic value forced a communal functionality, based in a conceptually graspable value, out of its assessment criteria and established music as the highest art precisely because its ephemeral nature tied its effects directly to the individual perceiver, or so it seemed. Carl Dahlhaus described this development, during which works of art became detached from a communal function serving the rise of the individual, as the new yardstick for the ordering of society instead as the new "art-religion."¹⁶ His observation was based primarily on the writings of the early Romantics, but he located the existence of a strong work concept in which music "does not divulge all its meanings in performance," but rather received its meaning from the "inner coherence of the relations among the tones" already in Karl Philipp Moritz' *Von der bildenden Nachahmung des Schönen* of 1788.¹⁷ Dahlhaus described music to congeal into a work in the listener's memory; after the temporal event of the performance of music, the work would form into a unique whole in the mind of the listener – here it gained true form, status and meaning as a coherent whole, as one experience. E.T.A. Hoffmann satirised the expulsion of both function and performer from the

¹⁶ Carl Dahlhaus, *Esthetics of Music*, trans. William Austin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

¹⁷ Dahlhaus, *Esthetics*, esp. 9-16.

essence of the musical work, characteristic of this new art religion, in the "Musical Sorrows" of his spokesperson, Kapellmeister Kreisler:

The genuine artist lives only for the work, which he understands as the composer understood it and which he now performs. He does not make his personality count in any way. All his thoughts and actions are directed towards bringing into being all the wonderful, enchanting pictures and impressions the composer sealed in his work with magical power.¹⁸

As such, Hoffmann pointed at a work concept in which the genius of creation and the meaning of music are entirely congruent. The development of this new work concept left a legacy that has petrified both the discussion of individual pieces of music and historical narratives of music into a gallery of immovable "works." Whereas historical narratives focussed increasingly on the encapsulation of an artist's genius in the work, analytical methods sought to aid the exegesis of these eternally coherent expressions of the composer's intentions by uncovering the technical inner workings of the compositions. Musical works, therefore, became "original, unique products," which form "integrated wholes" made up of their constitutive "tonal, rhythmic and instrumental properties."¹⁹

The ideologies of a strong work concept underlie the making of the twentieth century's *Urtext* editions, in which musicologists and editors strove to construct a musical text based on "pure" aesthetic sources. However, the idea that the autograph must be the bearer of

¹⁸ E.T.A.Hoffmann, "Johannes Kreislers, des Kapellmeisters, musikalische Leiden," translation taken from R. Murray Schafer, "Of Kapellmeister Johannes Kreisler's Musical Sorrows" in *E.T.A. Hoffmann and Music* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 121-26.

¹⁹ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 2.

the composer's ingenious invention and best portrays his intentions, has proved (and is accepted to be) a faulty assumption in the case of countless pieces of eighteenth-century music, especially those for large forces. Haydn's *The Creation* is but one of these works, in which the composer administered a variety of alterations in manuscript sources other than his own autograph. Here, the debate surrounding the establishment of an authentic version is confounded by the lack of the autograph altogether, leaving the editors only with the work-in-progress versions, but denying them insight into the source that could convey the initial ingenious "Geist" or "inspiration."

A quick review of the sources of *The Creation* will suffice to reveal the complex historical questions we are asking and aesthetic judgements we are making by rating historical sources and by, ultimately, dismissing small-scale arrangements. Four contemporaneous manuscript scores survive of *The Creation*, in addition to the first edition published by the composer, later by Breitkopf & Härtel in February 1800. The first edition was based on the now so-called *Engraver's Score* in the hand of Haydn's copyist, Johann Elssler.²⁰ This score in upright format accommodates eighteen musical staves per page and includes an appendix with those instrumental parts that could not be included due to the lack of space. The libretto is supplied in the music in German and English. Manuscript changes in the orchestration tally with the first edition, thereby affirming the relationship between the two sources.

²⁰ Today held at the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* Wien, A-Wgm, H27405.

Two other scores can definitely be linked to Haydn as both contain his autograph corrections. The *Tonkünstler Score*, notated on twelve lines, served Haydn as a conducting score. Though predominantly in the hands of Johann Elssler and other scribes, Haydn himself notated cues for those orchestral parts that did not fit onto the twelve-line pages. The score is complemented by a complete set of parts also containing Haydn's corrections. The second score that can be linked to Haydn is the *Estate Score*, a sixteen-line copy in the hands of Elssler and various others. Again, this score contains Haydn's autograph annotations and corrections. A further contemporaneous score, the *Graz* copy, cannot be linked to Haydn without conjecture as it contains no autograph corrections and is clearly independent of the first edition. Three further sets of parts used for the early performance of the *Creation* exist. While the *Tonkünstler* parts include four solo vocal parts, ten tenor and ten bass choir parts, a part for the concertmaster, thirty four further string parts, and parts for three "Harmonien," the other sets of parts, corresponding to varying degrees with the other scores, contain considerably fewer parts.²¹ The differences between these parts are numerous and the attempt to re-create Haydn's "original" version, the *Fassung letzter Hand*, continues.

²¹ The estate parts include only two parts for each violin and cello, and only one for the viola. The woodwind is represented by three flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, a bassoon part that is split, one contrabassoon part, two trumpets, two trombones and one bass trombone, timpani. In addition to three solo voices there are two soprano parts, two altos, three tenors and only one bass part. See A. Peter Brown, *Performing Haydn's The Creation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986) and Joseph Haydn, *Die Schöpfung*, Band XXVIII/3, ed. Annette Oppermann, Gesamtausgabe der Werke Joseph Haydns (Köln: G.Henle Verlag, forthcoming 2007/2008).

In reviewing the source situation, the question has been raised whether the lost autograph can and should be seen as the primary source.²² It is a plain fact that Joseph Haydn parted with his autograph and never retrieved it from Gottfried van Swieten. Did Haydn fear a gross social blunder if he were to ask his patron to return the autograph, or had the score served its time and purpose for Haydn? If Haydn viewed the autograph simply as a working mode, its loss is tragic for the study of his creative process, but less so for the study of *The Creation*, as it suggests that the autograph was not viewed by its author as the final substantiation of the work. The fact that four scores exist, each of which can be related to Haydn and can therefore lay claim to a certain degree of authenticity while displaying different versions of the work, suggests that the composer had a rather more fluent approach to the oratorio than the ideology of the *Fassung letzter Hand* permits. The performances conducted by Haydn during his remaining years similarly allude to an artistic concept that is not focussed on a precise correlation between form, content and performance forces. While Haydn reportedly conducted around one hundred and eighty performers in the first performance at the Palais Schwarzenberg on April 29th 1798, he presented *The Creation* at the Royal Palace Budapest on March 8th 1800 with only about a third of these forces. Similarly, Haydn conducted *The Creation* in honour of Lord Nelson's visit to Eisenstadt in September 1800 using little more

²² Annette Oppermann, "Schreibraum und Denkraum – Joseph Haydns Skizzen zur ‚Schöpfung‘," *Musikforschung* 56/4 (2003): 375–381; Oppermann, "Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie für den Leser. Wozu braucht man eine historisch-kritische Ausgabe der ‚Schöpfung‘?" *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 60/6–7 (2005): 25–33.

than twenty-four instruments and eight singers.²³ These enormous discrepancies among instrumental forces strongly suggest that Haydn's musical aesthetic was not rooted in a work ideology based on the immanent correlation between compositional web and instrumental forces.

That Haydn took arrangements of his oratorios to be a serious matter is amply documented. Pleased with Anton Wranitzky's string quintet arrangement of *The Creation*, he planned for the arrangement of *The Seasons* to be published simultaneously with the full score. In the previously cited letter to Griesinger, Haydn clarified that he specifically wished for Wranitzky to arrange *The Seasons* for quintet based on his successful arrangement of *The Creation*.

Similarly, Haydn took the trouble to correct A.E. Müller's piano arrangement of *The Seasons*, pointing out where the arranger needed to go beyond a mere transcription in order to adapt its effects to the medium of the piano and not render it silly. He accompanied his corrections with the following letter to Müller:

Again I admire your talent and the enormous energy which you have hitherto expended on such a difficult task. The arrangement is easy, and readily comprehensible throughout, especially the final fugue. But I must ask you to include the changes I have sent you, if at all possible. ...

NB.: Since, because of the quick tempo, the storm in the 2nd part cannot possibly be played as it now stands, my suggestion would be to do it in the following way, so that the singers will find the right pitch more easily: viz. – you will see my suggestion on the enclosed sheet.²⁴

²³ Brown, *Performing Haydn's The Creation*, in particular Table I: "Viennese Performances of *The Creation* to early 1810," p.3.

²⁴ Letter to August Eberhard Müller, Vienna, Dec. 11th 1801. Quoted in translation from Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Late Years*, 88.

The enclosed sheet gives an extract from no.76 and notes:

No.76, in the last line, the first bars should read as follows: ... although they are not in the score. NB! This whole passage, with its imitation of the frogs, was not my idea; I was forced to write this Frenchified trash. This wretched idea disappears rather soon when the whole orchestra is playing, but it simply cannot be included in the pianoforte reduction.²⁵

Surely it is noteworthy that Haydn corrected the arrangement according to his artistic or rather stylistic sensitivities, not simply according to craftsmanship, for Müller's frogs are translated to the piano perfectly well, both from a player's point of view and measured against the yardstick of compositional rules. It is also interesting that Haydn obviously used the enormous forces of the orchestra to obscure what he regarded as bad compositional and artistic practice (as it expresses something that ought not to be expressed in the musical medium); in fact, Haydn seemed to suggest that the piano arrangement presents a purified version, which makes apparent the essence of the composition. Yet, this version extends beyond a mere tool to teach composition, because Haydn clearly concerned himself with effects, with tone and expression, not with mere rules.²⁶ In fact, Haydn's active engagement with the production of these arrangements calls into question the generally assumed parameters for aesthetic judgement that rely on a correlation between meaning and expression, on one hand, and the composer's conception for instrumentation on the other. If, during the eighteenth century, art was measured generally

²⁵ Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Late Years*, 89; Georg Feder, "Haydn's Korrekturen zum Klavierauszug der *Jahreszeiten*," in *Festschrift Georg von Dadelsen*, ed. T. Kohlhase and V. Scherliess (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1978), 101–12.

²⁶ see also: Feder, "Haydn's Korrekturen zum Klavierauszug der *Jahreszeiten*," 101–12.

according to its beautiful appearance and its sublime effects, these arrangements – valued more highly by composers in the eighteenth century than they are today – unleash a host of new questions regarding the transferability of sublime effects and, indeed, regarding their location in the first instance. These questions will ultimately bring down the supremacy of a compositional aesthetic based on the innate relationship between form and content, perceived as one in the genius creator's mind.

2. The Question of Meaning in an Instrumental "Creation"

On March, 22nd, 1800, Haydn's friend and admirer, the Swedish diplomat Frederik Samuel Silverstolpe, reported back to Stockholm:

When the time comes I want to make a small present to all my brothers, and I hope you will be pleased with it. It is *The Creation* arranged by Wranitzky as sextets. It is quite effective in this version and much better than the quintets, in which form the work has already been printed, arranged by the same master. ... The work is only in MS. and won't be printed. The *flauto traverso* makes an effect that is indispensable to the whole. If my translation should turn out well, I'll put the Swedish words under the German in the sextets. Since it has no vocal parts, the words are to be declaimed between the music...²⁷

Silverstolpe's letter is valuable in explaining to us how these arrangements would have functioned in performance. Far from presenting simply a scaled-down accompaniment for singers, as both Robbins-Landon and Brown assumed in suggesting that the performance at Fries' palace used the quintet arrangement as chamber

²⁷ C.-G. Stellan Mörner, *Johan Wikmanson und die Brüder Silverstolpe* (Stockholm, 1952), 350. Translation quoted from Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Years of 'The Creation'*, 544.

accompaniment for a vocal performance, these arrangements had merit in their own right as instrumental pieces. To be sure they could (and probably would) have been used for such small-scale vocal performances, and figures in the cello part might point to the addition of a keyboard. But an entirely instrumental rendition was equally viable. In this case Silverstolpe explains that the narrative was no longer woven into the musical fabric, but was read between segments of the music, as if the work were a melodrama. This is particularly interesting in light of - and indeed provides an explanation for - the instrumental setting of the recitatives, although the question remains how long each musical segment should be before the reader would intervene with the recitation of the text.

In his quintet arrangement Wranitzky attributes each recitative to one of the instruments, thereby turning them into metaphorical speakers who intone the words without pronouncing their conceptual content (Example 25).

39 Recit: Solo Haydn / A. Wranitzky

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Viola II

Violoncello

Im An fangeschuf Gott Him melund Er de

Recitativo

Recitativo

Recit.

Recitativo

p

dol.

Example 25: Die Schöpfung: Ein Musikalisches Oratorium von Herrn Joseph Haydn übersetzt in Quintetten ... von Herrn Anton Wranitzky. Wien: Artaria & Co., 1800, A-Wgm IX31985. Einleitung, bars 59-96.

Example 25 (continued)

66

und die Er de, war ohne Form, und leer und Fin staniss

73 Coro a Tempo Sotto voce

war auf der Flä che der Tie fe Coro Und der Geist Gott tes schweb te auf der

Chor
Coro
Coro

simile
simile

79

flä che der Was ser und Gott sprach es werde Licht,

pizz:
pizz:
pizz:
pizz:

Example 25 (continued)

85 und es ward Licht. *Tutti* *Senza sordini* *Violonc: Solo* *Violon: Solo* *Rezit:* *und*

90 Gott sah das Licht, dass es gut war, und Gott schied das Licht von der finsterniss

There is, however, no direct correlation between voice type and instrument. On the contrary, in arranging the opening of *The Creation*, Wranitzky has reversed the treble (here the tenor) -bass correlation by giving Raphael's recitative to the violin and Uriel's to the cello.²⁸ Strikingly, this is the only recitative in the arrangement to be played by the cello, whereas all others are distributed between the viola and the violin. The arias are untexted and identified by a short text incipit only.

²⁸ The result is that Raphael's opening recitative is intoned by the violin one octave above the original, whereas Uriel's recitative remains at the original sounding pitch.

Throughout the arias, one instrument is marked solo, but the vocal line is distributed across various parts, particularly where the vocal lines are doubled by instruments in the original. Ornaments are added and octave register transfers administered; both of these help transform the quintet into a bona fide instrumental work characterised by "durchbrochene Arbeit." The result exceeds the lowly connotations of a straight-forward transcription, i.e. one that simply maps the voices onto designated instruments. As such, the quintet can truly function as an instrumental piece.

The image displays a musical score for a quintet, likely from a Baroque or Classical era, arranged for modern instruments. The score is written for Violin I, Violin II, Viola I, Viola II, and Violoncello. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The score is divided into two systems. The first system shows the vocal line (Aria p) with the lyrics "Nun schwanden vor dem heiligen Strahle" and the instrumental parts. The second system shows the instrumental parts with dynamic markings such as *p*, *f*, *col arco*, and *pizz*. The vocal line is marked *mesza voce* and *fz* (for *f* and *z*).

Example 26: Die Schöpfung: Ein Musikalisches Oratorium von Herrn Joseph Haydn übersetzt ... von Herrn Anton Wranitzky. Arie mit Chor. Andante: Nun schwanden vor dem heiligen Strahle (placement of the text incipit in lieu of the title according to original)

Example 26 (continued)

[illegible]

Example 26 (continued)

The musical score for Example 26 (continued) spans measures 28 to 34. It is a quintet arrangement, likely for five voices or instruments. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 4/4. Measures 28-33 show a complex texture with various dynamics including *f*, *ff*, *solo*, and *f*. Measure 34 begins with a *tutti* marking and a piano (*p*) dynamic. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

The quintet arrangement, then, suggests several possibilities for performance, serving varying functions. Firstly, the quintet could function like a small orchestra and accompany the singers. The arrangement is suitable for this type of performance mainly because Wranitzky has rarely set the instrumental version of the solo aria lines at the original pitch, meaning that, if performed with a singer, the soloist would be doubled at the upper or lower octave, but not at pitch.²⁹ Doubling the vocal line at the octave – particularly if, as is the

²⁹ In an orchestral setting, the "solo" indications in the instrumental parts could also suggest a reduction of forces to single players.

case here, the instrument doubling the voice is not consistent throughout one movement, thereby adding a variety of colours – is a common orchestral practice. However, such performance would leave unanswered the question how to perform the recitatives where a doubling of the vocal line is highly unlikely. Still, setting the recitatives for instruments is a striking feature of Wranitzky's quintet arrangement. Indicating the placement of recitatives in all parts also implies that the solo line could easily be taken on by a singer again without leading to confusion in performance.

Secondly, and in line with Silverstolpe's letter, the arrangement could have been intended for an instrumental performance with a narrator punctuating the music with text. Still, the performance of the instrumental transcription of the recitatives is curious: would the narrator read over the top of the instrumentally-played recitatives in a quasi-melodramatic manner? Or would the text replace the recitatives? What exactly does Silverstolpe mean by "the text"? The entire libretto or just the narrative of the recitatives? And what would the function of the recited text be? To grant coherence or to give meaning? To explain the affects of the music? If the text were indeed essential to the understanding of the work, would the narrator read the text for all run-on-movements before they begin, so as not to interrupt the flow of the music?³⁰ Would the narration therefore be a replacement for the customary printed libretto rather than for the vocal parts?

³⁰ That the sublime effect of *The Creation* is created amongst other things by the use of run-on and compound movements is argued by James Webster in "The 'Creation', Haydn's Late Vocal Music, and the Musical Sublime," in *Haydn and His World*, ed. Elaine Sisman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 57-102, in particular 66-68.

In light of all these questions I favour the third performance option as the most likely: a purely instrumental performance of the entire oratorio. Historic evidence does indeed point in the direction of such a performance and, as I will explain by positioning the purely instrumental performance within contemporaneous aesthetic currents, an instrumental performance would not have seemed out of line. After all, vocal models had transcended instrumental composition throughout the eighteenth century, serving either as large-scale topics in themselves (compare Agawu's list of semiotic topics in chapter II) or presenting a derivative gestural language.³¹ This gestural language, David Charlton argued, can be codified into basic shapes used throughout eighteenth-century instrumental recitatives. These gestures, he claimed, had acquired emotive meaning in themselves and therefore were no longer in need of textural clarification in order to project an emotional message.³² Haydn employed instrumental recitatives using these types of stock gestures in the second movement of his symphony *Le midi* (Hob.I:7), in the Adagio of his string quartet op.17 no.5 (Hob.III:29) and in the Capriccio of his string quartet op.20 no.3 (Hob.III:33), and - in combination with a conscious personification

³¹ That instrumental recitatives function beyond direct association with previously existing words and transcend a status as substitute for a slow introduction or an entire slow movement as Paul Mies and Herbert Seifert had claimed has been argued convincingly by David Charlton. See Paul Mies, *Das instrumentale Rezitativ* (Bonn: H. Bouvier and Co., 1968); Herbert Seifert, "Das Instrumentalrezitativ vom Barock bis zur Wiener Klassik," in *De ratione in musica*, ed. Theophil Antonicek, Rudolf Flotzinger and Othmar Wessely (Kassel, 1975), 103-116; David Charlton, "Instrumental Recitative: A Study in Morphology and Context, 1700-1808," *Comparative Criticism* IV (1982): 149-168.

³² Charlton claims that these gestures or shapes coincide largely with those assembled by Sulzer in his article "Recitativ" in the *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste*. Both display a consciousness of shape as a primary feature of expression; see Charlton, "Instrumental Recitative," 151-52.

and dramatisation of the soloist - in the Andante of his Sinfonia Concertante (Hob.I:105).³³ Set within instrumental music that – unlike the arrangement of *The Creation* – never had textual connotations, these recitatives are nevertheless startling and highly expressive passages in each of these movements, on the one hand personalising and characterising the phenomenon of "the player," and, on the other, drawing attention to music's indefinite, yet powerful expression.

But Haydn presented an even more compelling musical case for the interchangeability of texted and untexted music without causing detriment to the expressive meaning in his *Seven Last Words*. Here, he also set a precedent for arranging large-scale works for the chamber, for Haydn wrote the *Seven Last Words* in three different versions. In February 1787 he completed a commission by a canon of Cadiz, who had approached him two years previously for an instrumental music on the subject of Christ's seven last words. The orchestral score had to accompany a ritual holy week ceremonial, during which the walls, windows and pillars of the church were veiled with black linen so that the church was illuminated only by a single, centrally suspended lamp. The ceremony was to commence with an instrumental movement upon which the bishop would ascend the pulpit to chant the first of Christ's seven last words on the cross. Following a brief sermon the music would start again, accompanying both the congregation's contemplation and the bishop's procession from the pulpit to the altar, where he knelt down in prayer. This ritual would be repeated seven

³³ In Op.20 No.3, (ii), the recitative style is used to express unanimity as all four players participate in the quasi recitative.

times, once for each one of the seven last words.³⁴ Although here meaning, or more precisely the narrative essence of the Gospel, might have been supplied by the ritualistic acts taking place in between the music, Haydn had the work performed in concert at numerous occasions following this first, functional performance, thereby making a strong statement on the power of his music bare of any textual or ritual explanation.³⁵ According to Griesinger, he considered the series of seven Adagios one of his best compositions, which led him – possibly – to arrange the work for string quartet during the same month that it was first performed in Cadiz. It wasn't until March 1796 that Haydn's vocal version of the *Seven Last Words*, an arrangement possibly necessitated by the Passau choirmaster J.Friebert's insufficient vocal transcription of the work, appeared.

Within its original context, Haydn's setting of the *Seven Last Words* corresponds to a tradition of contemplative, emotive music practised particularly as part of the Jesuit devotion.³⁶ Here, music and imagery were commonly used to help the beholder focus his prayers and inspire the emotions that form so essential a part of the Passion of Christ. Haydn based the thematic subject of the *Seven Last Words* on the rhythmic intonation of the Latin proverbs, spinning the

³⁴ Georg August Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen Über Joseph Haydn* (Leipzig, 1810), facs. reprint edn. (Leipzig: VEB Deutsche Verlag für Musik, 1979), 32-33.

³⁵ Performances took place in London, Berlin, Paris and Vienna. See Jonathan Drury, "Haydn's 'Seven Last Words': An Historical and Critical Study," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1976, 27-28; and Robbins Landon, *Haydn at Esterhaza* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 616-618 and 690.

³⁶ Otto Biba, *Der Piaristenorden in Österreich: seine Bedeutung für bildende Kunst, Musik und Theater im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Eisenstadt: Selbstverl. des Inst. f. Österr. Kulturgeschichte, 1975); Walter Benjamin, *The Origins of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London, 1977).

instrumental movement from this thematic cell. By underlying each movement's incipit with the Latin words, he didn't indicate that the music is in need of the words in order to be meaningful, but rather he demonstrated the vocal quality of the thematic material.³⁷ Clearly, Haydn's pride in the composition lay not with its specific religious context, but sprang from its powerful emotive qualities – seven Adagios in a row, each of which stirs a different emotion, expresses a different character.³⁸ By transcribing his work for string quartet he not only transferred it from the religious to the most typically enlightened art form – for chamber music, as we have seen, was practiced amongst the Viennese thinkers not least for its dialogical style – but left us a strong testimony to his belief in the interpretive, expressive power of purely instrumental music.

3. Art as Education – Art as Communal "Bildung"

The quintet arrangement of *The Creation* raises significant questions on the nature of instrumental music's power. In the search for

³⁷ Theodor Göllner describes the *Seven Last Words* as "eine instrumentale Aufzeichnung mit hinzugefügtem Text, der nicht zum Vortrag bestimmt ist, sondern nur die sprachbezogenen Fraktur des Themas verdeutlichen soll. Hinter Haydns instrumentaler Sonate verbirgt sich sprachliche Substanz." Theodor Göllner, *Die sieben Worte am Kreuz bei Schütz und Haydn* (München: Beck, 1986), 40.

³⁸ As such, a reviewer for Cramer's *Magazin der Musik* was not wrong in doubting "ob einem einzigen Zuhörer beym fünften Adagio das Wort: Sitio, (mich dürstet) einfallen kann und wird". See *Magazin der Musik* 2 (1786): 1385. Haydn's intent lay not with a direct delivery of words, but with the interpretation of familiar texts. Richard Will argues that Haydn played on the very fact that an emotional impression remains less definitive than a verbal declaration of the scripture. As such Haydn could express at once the very human, explanatory element of the Passion of Christ whilst also conveying the mysterious, revelatory and divine. See Richard Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), esp. "Preaching without Words: Reform Catholicism versus Divine Mystery in Haydn's *Seven Last Words*," 83-128, here 110-111 and 119.

meaning in music, the arrangement points to a central theoretical conundrum faced by eighteenth-century theorists, the question of mimesis and expression: does music have meaning in and of itself? To what degree is meaning in music conveyed with reliance on actual verbal language through different types of associative processes (either by association with the shapes of words or with generally known or previously heard texts), or can music's meaning be located in the very fact that music – like language, but not reliant on the same terms as language – is a system for communication? How does *The Creation* make sense when largely stripped of its narrative?³⁹ Does it rely on what Carl Dahlhaus coined "associative listening" or does the chamber music arrangement present its own system of communicating meaning?⁴⁰ Secondly, and equally a matter of extensive debate, particularly towards the end of the century, is the question, if purely instrumental music is meaningful through its effect, which parameters of the music produce this effect? In other words, if *The Creation* is indeed a sublime piece of music, what makes it sublime?

³⁹ The debate on mimesis and expression in the late eighteenth century has recently been explored in John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Karol Berger, *A Theory of Art* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Edward A. Lippmann, *A History of Western Musical Aesthetics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); Daniel Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); M.S. Morrow argues persuasively that it wasn't till around 1800 that the paradigm shifted from an aesthetic value attached to specific meaning to one of effect. See Mary S. Morrow, *German Music in the Late Eighteenth Century: Aesthetic Issues in Instrumental Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), especially 4-18.

⁴⁰ Carl Dahlhaus, "Thesen über Programm-Musik," in *Beiträge zur musikalischen Hermeneutik*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Bosse, 1975), 187-204, particularly 189 and 195-196.

I illustrated in Chapter I that eighteenth-century political theorists considered the meaning-giving factor of any art form and art work to lie in its function to educate man morally. That the same belief was central to contemporaneous theories of art is stated perhaps most pervasively in Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*. In the preface to the first edition Sulzer explained:

Man possesses two innate abilities that are seemingly independent of each other: reason and the moral sentiment, both of which must be developed as the basis for the blissful happiness of social life. It is on reason that the possibility of this happiness depends, but it is the moral sentiment which gives to this life that, without which it would be worthless.⁴¹

Sulzer defined man by his reason and his moral sentiment, but it is the latter that gives meaning to life. Like Sonnenfels, Sulzer implied that human life, a man's existence, is a social one. His reason makes this existence possible, but moral sentiment makes it worth living. Further, Sulzer implied that man's capacity to feel is linked to an inherent morality, for every man has the capacity for "sittliches Gefühl" – moral sentiment. Whereas reason is amply nurtured through the institutionalisation of teaching, the schooling of moral sentiment is often neglected, its significance for society overlooked:

⁴¹ "Der Mensch besitzt zwey, wie es scheint, von einander unabhängige Vermögen, den Verstand und das sittliche Gefühl, auf deren Entwicklung die Glückseligkeit des gesellschaftlichen Lebens gegründet werden muß. Von dem Verstand hängt die Möglichkeit desselben ab, das sittliche Gefühl aber giebt diesem Leben das, ohne welches dasselbe keinen Werth haben würde." Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, I: xii, "Vorbericht."

To hone reason grand and costly institutes have been established everywhere; but to the same degree the true nurture of moral sentiment has been neglected.⁴²

The training and nurturing of sentiment is the predicament of the arts, whose

actual business it is to awaken a lively feeling for the beautiful and the good, and a strong aversion towards the ugly and the evil.⁴³

Art, therefore, is pragmatic. It fulfils an educational function by honing man's a priori moral tendencies.⁴⁴ A strong desire to serve this requirement, Sulzer admitted, fuelled the project of his *Allgemeine Theorie* at large and it permeates the pages of his paean to art from the first page to the last.

Art is not merely indicative of a burgeoning society, but it is essential for a society that seeks continuous progress. For art not only assists the combination of man's faculties of reason and moral sentiment, but presents the method for the process of combination. The ideal art, according to Sulzer, both stirs the emotions and carries a definitive message, so as to force the perceiver into that moment of *Erkenntnis* (recognition) that allows him to put a name to his sentiment and qualify it within a system of moral values. In addition, Sulzer claims that the moment of combination and recognition will inevitably

⁴² Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, I: xiii, "Vorbericht": "Zur Wartung des Verstandes hat man überall große und kostbare Anstalten gemacht; desto mehr aber hat man die wahre Pflege des sittlichen Gefühles versäumt."

⁴³ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, I: xiii, "Vorbericht".

⁴⁴ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, II: 54, § "Empfindung": "So wie Philosophie, oder Wissenschaft überhaupt, die Erkenntnis zum Endzweck hat, so zielen die schönen Künste auf Empfindungen ab. Ihre unmittelbare Wirkung ist, Empfindung im psychologischen Sinn zu erwecken; ihr letzter Endzweck aber geht auf moralische Empfindungen, wodurch der Mensch seinen sittlichen Wert bekommt."

be accompanied by a feeling of joy: the joy of achievement, the joy of enlightenment.

Very often a large part of the pleasure we feel with regards to the fine arts stems from the transition from vague recognition to clarity.⁴⁵

Art's delight is rooted in the conquest of one's *Ahnungen* (premonitions), which now form a territory to be claimed by rationality. Their conceptualisation through art places them at man's disposal and empowers each individual to gain control over the world of his deepest feelings. The desire for rational control is natural, according to Sulzer; engaging with art trains the faculty of recognition and nourishes the joy of enlightenment towards an ever-more-refined exploration of the world of the passions. Thus art is empirical as well as didactic. Art is *bildend* in its ability to present both the object of *Empfindung* and the *Empfindung* itself simultaneously, whereby it can teach the combination of object and *Empfindung*.

Because it is the most important job of the artist to narrate objects of passions and the passions themselves, and because both of these are highly influential on the education of one's soul and disposition, it is clearly their duty to awaken every passion, unless they are faced with utterly insensitive men.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, III:10, § "Kenner": "Gar oft kommt ein großer Theil des Gefallens, das wir an Werken der schönen Künste haben, aus dem gesuchten Uebergang von undeutlicher Erkenntnis zur deutlichen."

⁴⁶ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, II:58, § "Empfindung": "Da es das eigentliche Werk der Künstler ist, die Gegenstände der Empfindungen und die Empfindungen selbst auf das lebhafteste zu schildern, beydes aber wichtigen Einfluß auf die Bildung der Gemüther haben kann: so steht es offenbar bey ihnen, jede Empfindung zu erweken, wenn sie nur nicht ganz unempfindliche Menschen vor sich haben."

Sulzer ordered the arts according to their efficacy in moral education. His rating of the theatre at the top of this list betrayed clearly his belief in the mimetic creation of passions, for here a model is acted out in its most life-like form. But placing the theatre at the top of the hierarchy also revealed his tacit assumption that moral education is the education of a people, not a person; for the theatre presents itself as a collective experience, it addresses a large number of the population simultaneously.⁴⁷ In fact, Sulzer highly rated the theatre's capacity to cater to a variety of educational levels and gradually to approximate them:

The common man, who in his delights is still unformed, praises comedy, because he finds pleasure in raw jesting and coarse delights. The Kenner used to praise comedy just the same, but now that he has refined his feeling, he expects more refined humour and delights that don't shock him. ... he who judges comedy must take its audience into account.⁴⁸

Sulzer gave specific advice to artists to create their art in accordance with their audience's level of education. Granted that all people possess the innate potential for morality, the artist must keep in mind a society's level of collective *Sittlichkeit* and aim at this specific level of moral refinement. Sulzer could barely hide his political subtext that

⁴⁷ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, III:80, § "Kunst."

⁴⁸ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, III:9, § "Kenner": "Der gemeine Mann, der in seinen Lustbarkeiten noch roh ist, lobt die Comödie, darin er rohe Scherze und etwas grobe Lustbarkeiten findet. Auch der feinere Kenner lobte sie ehemals; jetzt aber, da er schon feiner empfindet, erwartet er feinere Scherze, und Lustbarkeiten, die ihn auch nicht erschüttern. Dieser hat also das Recht die feinere Comödie, jeder die rohere zu loben. Aber der Kunstrichter, der über die Comödie urtheilt, muß Rücksicht auf den Zuschauer haben."

spells out that art's moral education is the moral education of a nation and of each individual as a member of that nation:

We need to add another remark to these observations for those artists who really seek to be useful. We want to warn them not to work according to a general ideal in their attempts to awaken the passions. ... We do not advise any artist to work for all people and all of posterity; this would be the way to be useless to any people and any time.⁴⁹

Implicit in Sulzer's evaluation of the different arts was also the idea that art – in order to fulfil its moral purpose – needs to be communicative, a fact that caused Sulzer to dismiss instrumental music, because he saw its communication to function purely on the level of the passions, but not on a conceptual level tied to these passions. It is essential that for Sulzer instrumental music was not a fine art, because it was not socially formative.⁵⁰ Still, he granted that instrumental music is on the one hand highly pleasurable, on the other can be a useful exercise towards higher things:

Merely to while away the time, but also as useful exercises, through which composer and player hone their skills to higher

⁴⁹ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, II:59, § "Empfindung": "Noch eine Anmerkung wollen wir diesen Betrachtungen für die Künstler hinzufügen, die wirklich die Absicht haben nützlich zu seyn. Wir wollen sie warnen, bey den Empfindungen, die sie erweken wollen, nicht allzu sehr nach einem allgemeinen Ideal zu arbeiten. ... Wir rathen keinem Künstler, für alle Völker und so gar für alle nachfolgende Zeiten zu arbeiten; dies wäre der Weg, bey keinem Volk und in keiner Zeit nützlich zu seyn."

⁵⁰ Sulzer's deeply embedded belief that art's mimetic function is to induce a natural moral order, forces him to devalue instrumental music in favour of vocal music. Vocal music, however, ideally combines music's immediate impact on the sensations with specific rational concepts expressed in the words, see Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, III:425, § "Musik": "Zum Ausdruck der Gedanken und Vorstellungen ist die Sprache erfunden; diese, nicht die Musik sucht zu unterrichten, und der Phantasie Bilder vorzuhalten. ... Überhaupt wirkt die Musik auf den Menschen nicht, in sofern er denkt, oder Vorstellungskräfte hat, sondern in sofern er empfindet."

things, that's the purpose of concertos, trios, solos and sonatas.⁵¹

This pleasurable element is as vital in music as in any other art. It grants that man will develop the desire to be repeatedly inspired into the "rightful state of mind" and it guarantees that "useful knowledge," which man learned through pleasure, will remain with him.⁵² Art needs this pleasurable element, which Sulzer subsumes under the category of taste, in order to fulfil its function.

Instrumental music, in particular the seemingly function-less music which was played in the numerous salons and which, therefore, did not gain meaning by accompanying dance, ceremony or the theatre, certainly fulfilled two of Sulzer's requirements for high art: it was a pleasurable pastime and it exercised a communal spirit as we have seen in Chapter II. For Sulzer, as for many of his contemporaries, the lack of a conceptually definitive meaning, however, remained problematic.

Since the 1780s, programmatic interpretations of wordless music appeared increasingly, all designed seemingly to illustrate the latent meaning in instrumental music. They ranged from the underlay of words, via the application of a narrative plot to a vague association between a poetic work and the instrumental work.⁵³ If its beginnings

⁵¹ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, II:678, § "Instrumentalmusik": "Zum bloßen Zeitvertreib aber, oder auch als nützliche Uebungen, wodurch Setzer und Spieler sich zu wichtigern Dingen geschikter machen, dienet sie, wenn sie Concerte, Trio, Solo, Sonaten und dergleichen hören läßt."

⁵² Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, II:374, § "Geschmack."

⁵³ For descriptions of these works and their function, see f.ex. Mark Evan Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991); Will, *The Characteristic Symphony in the Age of Haydn and Beethoven*; Tobias Plebuch, "Dark Fantasies and the Dawn of the Self: Gerstenberg's

were rooted in the desire to give specific meaning to instrumental music, its manner of conveying meaning shifted over the course of the second half of the eighteenth century from a rhetorical mapping of word onto music, to a conceptual mapping of the word's moral sentiment onto the musical expression. When, in 1751, C.P.E. Bach published a trio sonata that "represents the conversation between a sanguine and a melancholic man,"⁵⁴ he still explained standard musical gestures with reference to standardised emotional gestures as they were common in contemporary painting and theatre. Twenty years later, however, he raised no objections when the statesman and dilettante musician Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg presented his own, somewhat different transliteration of one of Bach's Fantasias: he adapted Shakespeare's Hamlet soliloquy as well as Socrates' last words to one of the fantasias that had first appeared in Bach's *Versuch über die Art das Clavier zu spielen* fourteen years earlier. When Cramer published the project in his journal *Flora* in 1787, he felt that a need had arisen to justify the project with the following introduction:

It had been debated whether pure instrumental music in which an artist had expressed only the dark, passionate conceptions that lay in his soul might also be susceptible to a clear, definite analysis. Gerstenberg... made the attempt... (the) creator (Bach) had certainly never let himself dream that the unfettered flight of his exalted imagination could be used as the binding thread in a poetical fabric."⁵⁵

Monologues for C.P.E. Bach's C minor Fantasia," in *C.P.E. Bach Studies*, ed. Annette Richards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 25-66.

⁵⁴ Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Sonata c-moll, "Sanguineus und Melancholicus," Wq 161, 1 : für zwei Violinen und Generalbass, Vorbericht.

⁵⁵ Cramer, *Flora*, xii-xiv. Quoted from Eugen Helm, "The 'Hamlet' Fantasy and the Literary Element in C.P.E. Bach's Music," *Musical Quarterly* 58/2 (April 1972): 277-296, at 287.

This review illustrates that instrumental music had shifted into the ingenious, yet unfathomable realm of the inexplicably expressive, that realm which Sulzer deemed at best useless, at worst perilous to man's moral education. Gerstenberg, however, understood the project quite differently to his reviewer. Instead of assuming, like Cramer, that instrumental music expressed purely subjective passions that were therefore exempt from analysis and could only ever create the same unreflected feeling in the listener, Gerstenberg wanted to verbalise a meaning into the music.⁵⁶ His intention was exactly to make the music communicate as well as to communicate with the music. His project emanated from a social game, which he played with his wife, to adapt instrumental movements to words:

We have a delightful collection of music. We select melodies that particularly please us. We make texts for them when we have none, we change other texts, or we take the text of a melody which we do not like but whose text we like and put it under another melody...⁵⁷

The fact that Gerstenberg adapted two texts simultaneously is further demonstration that he was making a point much more about the recipient's receptivity and imagination than about a direct analysis of the music that would segregate it into its component musical affects. His homemade game combined the enjoyment of singing with the recognition of patterns (verbal and musical) that could be brought in

⁵⁶ Plebuch, "Gerstenberg's Monologues"; Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁵⁷ Extract from Klopstock's letter to his friend Caecilie Ambrosius. Quoted from Helm, "The 'Hamlet' Fantasy," at 279.

line with a knowledge of myriad different melodies and poems.⁵⁸ Far from desecrating either music or poetry through their combination, Gerstenberg considered both simply as beautiful means towards self-furtherance and enjoyment.

As such, Gerstenberg inadvertently transferred Sulzer's demands for art onto instrumental music with the aid of words, yet without making the meaning of instrumental music itself entirely reliant on these words. Here, the poetry served as a parallel, not a master, as music and poetry stood on an even footing within a game that relied on the recognition of passionate effects, on communication and on exchange of, and agreement on the experiences of various participants. Here, both art forms – music and poetry – became tools towards exercising critique and judgement in a pleasurable manner.

4. Art and the Pleasures of Critique

If it is the predicament of art to be socially educational – as Sulzer demanded – this ideal in itself can replace concepts narrated through a particular work of art. Whereas Sulzer's dictionary still adheres to the teaching of concepts through narrative rather than through

⁵⁸ Both P. Schleuning and T. Plebuch base their analysis of Gerstenberg's Bach Fantasia on the recognition that both of Gerstenberg's monologues share the same basic narrative pattern. See Plebuch, "Gerstenberg's Monologues", and Peter Schleuning, *Die freie Fantasie: ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der klassischen Klaviermusik* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1973). A. Richards places the parallels between these monologues and Bach's fantasia into a new enthusiasm for self-expression that – in Sturm und Drang manner – defies classical structures or tempered speech. See Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque*, 94-100. They all argue that the mapping of words onto music aims to show the music's *Empfindungsgehalt*, which I think is secondary. Plebuch argues that Gerstenberg's experiment aimed to prove aesthetic coherence. This, however, is done subjectively, therefore, again, based simply on the recognition of patterns and the enlightenment and delight derived from this.

interaction, the latter idea is instantiated in the writings of another ardently dismissive critic of instrumental music. In his *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, Immanuel Kant allocates music the lowliest place amongst the fine arts, because "(the art of tone) speaks through mere sensations without concepts, and hence does not, like poetry, leave behind something for reflection." Nevertheless, Kant concedes that music "moves the mind in more manifold and, though only temporarily, deeper ways" than poetry.⁵⁹

Despite giving little attention to this deep movement of the mind within his narrative of his third *Critique*, the nature of the text reveals his appreciation of exactly this deep movement of the mind, which he seeks to achieve by forcing the reader into an active engagement with his text. For he presents a web of deductions, each of which is preceded by the laying out of extended arguments. The text becomes at once symbol and method of a metaphysical system, in which the purpose of each element can only be deduced from the concept in its entirety. Only if the critique of each element pertaining to the system is granted can metaphysics be possible. As such, Kant forces the reader at each turn to "critique" his text; he does not present results dogmatically, but guides each reader to come to his own conclusions. His text is intended as an exercise in, and an appeal to *Vernunft*, our

⁵⁹ Immanuel Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft* (Köln: Könemann Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 1995), §53 "Vergleichung des ästhetischen Werths der Künste untereinander," at 216: "Ob (die Tonkunst) zwar durch lauter Empfindungen ohne Begriffe spricht, mithin nicht wie die Poesie etwas zum Nachdenken übrig bleiben läßt, so bewegt sie doch das Gemüth mannigfaltiger, und, obgleich bloß vorübergehend, doch inniglicher." Translation taken from Immanuel Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, ed. Paul Guyer, trans. Paul Guyer and Eric Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), at 205.

combinatory faculty. Kant relies on our faculty of *Vernunft* to explore his text, as he requires that the argument be experienced rather than understood. As such, he does not present analytical arguments, stating a thesis and explaining its content. Analytical argumentation would require nothing but analytical judgements on the part of the reader, which can never add to the content of cognition. Rather, the third *Critique* appeals to the reader to form synthetic judgements, which expand cognition by extending beyond its given components.⁶⁰ Rather than explaining *Vernunft* as a concept, Kant forces the reader to apply *Vernunft*.

In a similar vein, Kant demands of art that it is engaging by inspiring the faculty of *Vernunft*. Yet, in the same way that his string of deductions will lead the reader towards a recognition, art must in the end yield the recognition of definitive concepts:

If it has the feeling of pleasure as its immediate aim, then it is called aesthetic art. This is either agreeable or beautiful art. It is the former if its end is that pleasure accompany the representations as mere sensations, the latter, if its end is that it accompany these as kinds of cognition.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Synthetic judgements are based neither in cause and effect, nor in the principle of opposition alone. Both mathematical and empirical judgements are necessarily synthetic, as they demand an abstraction to be comprehensive: neither seven nor five contain twelve as a component, but we can still make the judgement that their addition makes twelve. Immanuel Kant, *Prolegomena zu einer jeden künftigen Metaphysik, die als Wissenschaft wird auftreten können* (Riga, 1783; reprint edn, Stuttgart: Reclam, 1989), 21.

⁶¹ Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, "§44 "Von der schönen Kunst," at 187: "hat (die Kunst) das Gefühl der Lust zur unmittelbaren Absicht, so heißt sie ästhetische Kunst. Diese ist entweder angenehme oder schöne Kunst. Das erste ist sie, wenn der bloße Zweck derselben ist, daß die Lust die Vorstellungen als bloße Empfindungen, das zweite, das sie dieselben als Erkenntnisarten begleite." Transl. Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, at 184.

In order to fulfil its educational function, beautiful art, then, requires the formation of a judgement, the judgement of taste. Like Sulzer, Kant stipulates that the ability to develop one's taste is pre-given and that honing one's taste is a moral duty as it is the category of taste by which the individual can communicate his feelings to others and thus advance his innate sociability.⁶² Kant distinguishes between pure taste and applied taste; a judgement which is made without regard to the function of an object is pure, whereas a judgement of taste that includes function and purpose is applied.⁶³ A "pure" judgement of taste never applies to art, but to beauty. To illustrate this, Kant explains that a human being could have "much finer features and a more pleasing, softer outline to its facial structure if only it were not supposed to represent a man, or even a warrior."⁶⁴ Intention and function therefore determine appearance, and art's judgement of taste must be made according to these categories.

⁶² See Paul Guyer, *Kant and the Claims of Taste* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 323.

⁶³ Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, § "Das Geschmacksurtheil, wodurch ein Gegenstand unter der Bedingung eines bestimmten Begriffs für schön erklärt wird, ist nicht rein," at 92-93: "Ein Geschmackurtheil würde in Ansehung eines Gegenstandes von bestimmtem innern Zwecke nur alsdann rein sein, wenn der Urtheilende entweder von diesem Zwecke keinen Begriff hätte, oder in seinem Urtheile davon abstrahirte. Aber alsdann würde dieser, ob er gleich ein richtiges Geschmacksurtheil fällte, indem er den Gegenstand als freie Schönheit beurtheilte, dennoch von dem andern, welcher die Schönheit an ihm nur als anhängende Beschaffenheit betrachtet (auf den Zweck des Gegenstandes hin), getadelt und eines falschen Geschmacks beschuldigt werden, obgleich beide in ihrer Art richtig urtheilen: der eine nach dem, was er vor den Sinnen, der andere nach dem, was er in Gedanken hat."

⁶⁴ Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, § "Das Geschmacksurtheil, wodurch ein Gegenstand unter der Bedingung eines bestimmten Begriffs für schön erklärt wird, ist nicht rein," at 91: "Man würde vieles unmittelbar in der Anschauung Gefallende an einem Gebäude anbringen können, wenn es nur nicht eine Kirche sein sollte; eine Gestalt mit allerlei Schnörkeln und leichten, doch regelmäßigen Zügen, wie die Neuseeländer mit ihrem Tettowiren thun, verschönern können, wenn es nur nicht ein Mensch wäre; und dieser könnte viel feinere Züge und einen gefälligeren, sanftern Umriß der Gesichtsbildung haben, wenn er nur nicht einen Mann, oder gar einen kriegerischen vorstellen sollte." Transl. Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, at 115.

Whereas a pure judgement of taste is formed in two steps, applied taste requires a third stage during which the function of the judged object is taken into consideration. Firstly, the object is perceived through the senses; this sensual perception is empirical. Secondly, *Vernunft* synthesises these empirical perceptions to form a judgement by deducing a systematic total: *Vernunft* makes sense of sensation by applying concepts to the sensual stimulation. With this the cognitive perception is completed and a judgement of pure taste has been made.

Kant claims that, despite experiencing a subjective sensation, we deduce a universal claim for its validity, because *Vernunft* has ordered the sensations into concepts. The individual presupposes a certain parallelism between his own perceptions – that have been ordered by *Vernunft* into regular patterns – and the experiences of others. The presupposition is made via the form, via analogy and via similarity, but also via frequency and regularity. While each individual conjectures sameness on the grounds of objects' external similarity, the conjecture of universal validity of one's judgement relies on an agreement of concepts.

An applied judgement of taste goes beyond this by involving our faculty of *Verstand* (rationality) in order to make a qualitative judgement. Here, the experience of the object at hand is measured against the expectations of the concept that was attached to the object through repeated sensation. If we have eaten a number of biscuits, we will have deduced that biscuits taste sweet. We will also have assumed that this experience is the same for others, i.e. that our experience has

universal validity. If we now eat a biscuit that is not sweet, even though its taste may be entirely pleasurable, as a biscuit it fails. In this final stage, the empirical judgement is filtered through reason and then judged according to rational concepts, which have no grounding in nature, but are purely rational constructs. This third stage in the formation of judgement is the judgement of applied taste: here *Empfindung* (sensation) and *Erkenntnis* (cognition) are combined - in the case of art, preferably with one overall purpose in mind: that of *Bildung des Gemüths* (education of moral sensitivities).

The question is whether instrumental music can be judged by applied taste. Kant's discussion of music accounts for different types of music: whereas vocal music serves as a vehicle for poetry, military and dance music receive their value through their functions and must therefore be judged through the lens of these purposes. In addition, Kant accounts for *Tafelmusik*, by which he means literally music to accompany a dinner and which he dismisses as merely pleasurable without aesthetic value, because it serves but one purpose: to entertain the appropriately merry disposition in the soul without drawing attention to itself.⁶⁵ Finally, Kant lists the musical fantasy paradigmatically for instrumental chamber music without function under the "free beauties" that are subject to a pure judgement of taste, not subject to an artistic or applied judgement of taste. Strikingly, vocal, functional and "free beauty" music are united in Kant's

⁶⁵ Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, § "Von der schönen Kunst," at 188: "(... die Tafelmusik: ein wunderliches Ding, welches nur als ein angenehmes Geräusch die Stimmung der Gemüther zur Fröhlichkeit unterhalten soll und, ohne daß jemand auf die Composition derselben die mindeste Aufmerksamkeit verwendet, die freie Gesprächigkeit eines Nachbarns, mit den andern begünstigt)."

discussion through one vital aspect: Kant describes them from the point of view of the passive listener. This point is significant as music - in particular chamber music, which Kant omits from applied taste altogether - was experienced predominantly through playing rather than through passive listening. In contrast to the arts of poetry and painting, this type of music was perceived through two senses at once: aurally and physically. Further, it applies particularly to arrangements, which were made with the specific purpose of experiencing the music through one's own playing rather than just through listening. The double sensual perception of this repertoire means that the object – music – can be categorised by our *Vernunft* either according to its aural sensation or according to its physical sensation.

If reliant on the aural perception alone, *Vernunft* would order our perceptions into sensations such as "loud," "soft" and "high- pitched," i.e. into rational concepts of sensations that do not imply a qualitative judgement. They can only become the basis for a qualitative judgement if they are connected to concepts and meaning by agreement, arrived at through experience. This experience, however, derives not from the music itself, but from its status as accompaniment to words, which now automatically induces associations. Kant describes this as a "mechanical association:"

The play of thought that is aroused by it in passing is merely the effect of an as it were mechanical association⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, §53 "Vergleichung des ästhetischen Werths der Künste untereinander," at 216: "das Gedankenspiel, was nebenbei dadurch erregt wird, ist bloß die Wirkung einer gleichsam mechanischen Association." Transl. Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, at 205.

If a sad expression in the text is repeatedly accompanied by a falling figure in music, this figure will suggest sadness even if stripped of the words. This quality is deduced with reference to another object - that of poetry - rather than from music itself. If C.P.E. Bach attributes conceptual meaning to each turn of phrase in his Sonata of Sanguineus and Melancholicus, he applies the combinatory faculty of *Vernunft* artificially to music. If, however, we perform *The Creation* stripped of the text, our faculty of recollection - granted we have heard the orchestral version previously - will permit the application of conceptual meaning, and therefore allow a qualitative judgement. Here, the music grants the most intense movements of our passions, thereby inspiring a high degree of receptivity, whereas our power of recollection - equally inspired by the music - will supply a conceptual meaning, albeit one that cannot be unravelled to reveal its component parts, but is reduced to its overall tone and message.

More importantly, and in striking contrast to the other arts, music can also be felt through the physical act of playing and therefore offers another level to attach meaning to. In chamber music for more than one player this meaning automatically involves the individual's placement of himself within a social situation. Each individual's self-perception is directly filtered through the lens of sociability. Here, the general validity of the regularity that our *Vernunft* has deduced, is given a priori, except that it is a validity based less on agreement than on complementarity. Musical actions such as unison, pairing, and soloistic display take on meaning collectively through their being

perceived, rather than only through the final stage of applying concepts with a set of characteristics to them. Granted, this final stage still exists – soloistic display becomes individual freedom, unison the subjugation under a group consensus – but an artistic meaning, one that hones man's inner sensitivities, is already provided through the physical sensation of playing chamber music, as each person's empirical perception is instantly mediated by the presence and involvement of his fellow players. Here, meaning lies in the process of action rather than the object of art. *Empfindung* and *Erkenntnis* are inextricably bound through the process of engaging with art, not through the existence of an object of art. As such, the act of playing music should fulfil Kant's high art *Bildungsideal*, that true cognition is not teachable, but must be experienced. Its non-conceptual nature grants that it is experienced for pleasure, while the experience of playing inspires sociability. In Kant's own words:

Beautiful art ... is a kind of representation that is purposive in itself and, though without an end, nevertheless promotes the cultivation of the mental powers for sociable communication.⁶⁷

5. Art as Act and the Education of Taste

During his years as 'Präses der Studienhofkommission', van Swieten established a regular Sunday salon devoted primarily to music. The most illustrious musicians from Vienna and abroad attended, and contributed music to this gathering. Amalgamating his philosophical

⁶⁷ Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, §44 "Von der schönen Kunst," at 188: "Schöne Kunst ... ist eine Vorstellungsart, die für sich selbst zweckmäßig ist und, obgleich ohne Zweck, dennoch die Cultur der Gemüthskräfte zur geselligen Mittheilung befördert." Transl. Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, at 185.

northern German influences with Viennese musical fervour, van Swieten's salon allowed him to enact his aesthetic and educational ideals; here, the purpose and reward of the study of culture were made tangible in the most literal form, as van Swieten's friends and students were given the opportunity to feel beauty, and through beauty to understand the good. Under the influence of Sulzer's *Theorie der schönen Künste*, van Swieten claimed that morality is established through the beautiful. This necessarily demanded that art take on a new role: art shaped society, art secured the individual's moral sensibilities and prepared him to be a *sittlicher Bürger* (moral citizen). In order to arrive at this end, however, art needed to be exercised in a specific manner. Even assuming a thorough understanding of art, from its mechanics to its true meaning, van Swieten saw only one way it could be harnessed to elevate the individual: through an active engagement with it. Not without reason did he commission Mozart and other regular attendees to his Sunday salon to prepare transcriptions of J.S. Bach's keyboard fugues for string quintet, quartet and trio. To be sure, the act of arranging demanded the arranger's study of the work. But more so, these chamber music arrangements spelled out the structure of Bach's fugues by attributing to each fugal voice a personal and physical voice: that of one of the players. As such, the compositional structure was made literal, and the players experienced the fugal structure from the inside. Here, the fugue was assigned a social role.

Van Swieten's educational ideologies caused controversy amongst Viennese statesman. For, in order to meet his ideal goals of

higher education, namely the active participation of the student, van Swieten suggested the abolition of set texts for university study. Instead, he promoted free lecturing, which was to be followed by reactions and questions from the floor; the lesson would be completed with each student writing his own memorandum. Whereas van Swieten considered the individual creation of texts and the active engagement with the material at hand as essential, his more conservative opponents deemed this teaching method untenable, arguing instead for a more systematic transmission of knowledge, which could be subjected to censorship by the education commission.

Under severe attack, van Swieten addressed his opponents, most prominently Cardinal Migazzi and Hofrath Birkenstock, with a speech "Über die Bildung des Geschmacks durch Lesung klassischer Schriften der Alten."⁶⁸ On the surface, van Swieten simply defended the study of art as a way of developing one's taste - the main purpose of the final year of his education system; yet, subliminally, the speech presented van Swieten's ideologies, which turned art into material applied for each society's and era's learning purposes. Two key points were significant in this speech: firstly, the question why taste is necessary at all, and secondly, how exactly the study of art can and should further the individual's taste. Van Swieten presented half the answer to the latter question in the format he chose for this lecture. He drew up a

⁶⁸ Wien – Nationalbibliothek – Handschriftensammlung NB HSS Codex 9719, Fol. 450.

series of questions, which followed on from each other as if evolving from a conversation about taste.⁶⁹

Van Swieten's definition of taste is markedly similar to Sulzer's: *Vernunft* (reason), *sittliches Gefühl* (moral sentiment) and taste form a unity. The object of taste is the disinterested beautiful, i.e. that which leaves a pleasurable impression without reason or purpose:

The beautiful does not delight because reason deems it perfect, or because moral sentiment considers it good, but because it presents itself to the imagination in a pleasurable form. The inner sense through which we enjoy the pleasurable is taste.⁷⁰

According to van Swieten, taste was most useful when it worked in tandem with man's other faculties. For taste provided the unmediated effect, the sensory impulse that man receives from the experience of art. As such, van Swieten's taste was roughly equivalent with Kant's pure taste, yet van Swieten demanded that this pure taste be mediated by *Vernunft* and *sittliches Gefühl* in order to educate the individual. Van Swieten juxtaposed effect and recognition and insisted that both are significant. Taste is an inner sensitivity towards effect, *Vernunft* brings about recognition. But it is effect, claimed van Swieten, that ingrains knowledge:

Taste lends reason and sentiment the captivating power over soul and disposition. It is the inner feeling which reveals the

⁶⁹ The Socratic references are unmistakable here and point to yet another influence of the Northern German aesthetic school on van Swieten. The *Sturm und Drang* generation elevated Socrates as a hero of both the critique of authority and mature individualism, i.e. of an individuality that structures and mediates society. See Benno Böhm, *Sokrates im achtzehnten Jahrhundert. Studien zum Werdegang des modernen Persönlichkeitsbewusstseins* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1966).

⁷⁰ NB HSS Codex 9719, Fol. 450: "Das Schöne vergnügt nicht, weil es der Verstand vollkommen, oder das sittliche Gefühl es gut findet, sondern weil es sich der Einbildungskraft in einer gefälligen Gestalt zeigt. Der innere Sinn wodurch wir dass angenehme Geniessen, ist der Geschmack."

stimulation of the true and the good; it is therefore essential for the roots of all virtue.⁷¹

Van Swieten suggested that taste should be educated through the reading of the classical works of the ancients. These were to be used both as models and as material, for they display beautiful language, feelings, sentiments, customs and philosophy. His multifarious approach to the "classics," to these "works," offered them up as material that was explored from different viewpoints upon each reading, thereby yielding different results and different levels of meaning. As such, repetition was essential in order to explore these varying aspects. But if this could be done by an individual's engagement with a "classic," van Swieten's demand went further: the text should be examined through a question-and-answer format, instead of being presented in lecture format. This would instantly preclude the reading of these works as mere exegesis of grammatical rules, nor would it permit the un-inquisitive memorisation of text. In addition, the question-and-answer format would permit an adaptation to the level of *Bildung* of the reader at each turn.

In this, his last statement, van Swieten offered a solution to one of the pressing questions asked by late eighteenth-century thinkers from Sulzer and Forkel to Schiller and Kant: if man has the innate capacity for taste, but this taste needs to be educated, how does this education find a starting point?⁷² Van Swieten's answer was

⁷¹ NB HSS Codex 9719, Fol. 450: "Der Geschmack gibt der Vernunft und dem Gefühl die einnehmende Kraft auf die Gemüther zu wirken. Er ist das innere Gefühl wodurch man die Reizung des wahren und guten empfindet, und wirkt also Liebe für dasselbe, woraus alle Tugenden entstehen."

⁷² Both Sulzer and Forkel addressed this question in the prefaces to their works. Friedrich Schiller was equally concerned with this question, as he introduced art as a politically independent category that could shape virtue and sentiment and thereby

straightforward: the highest form of art is suitable for the education of taste even at the most basic level, for the development of taste depends on the nature of studying art through integration with it, involving reason and sensitivity. Not the presentation of art, but the interaction with it would refine man's *Gemüth* and aid the development of his moral sentiments.

6. Accounting for the Sublime in "The Creation"

The idea that the didactic role of art is not fulfilled in works of art which present a straightforward instruction in morals, but rather that art is an instruction in manners, that art therefore teaches methods of listening or reading and ways of feeling, was pronounced much earlier in the century by the British empiricist the Third Earl of Shaftesbury. In his *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, Shaftesbury equated nature, morality and art, suggesting that all three follow the same rules of beauty and that therefore aesthetics and ethics are indistinguishable. His concern with the education of morality through art placed aesthetics in the court of ethics, not vice-versa, and he considered the onus of creating art according to a specific audience to be on the artist. The artist therefore had to work for his audience's state of education, natural disposition and receptivity. Art, he demanded, ought to be modelled on the needs of its audience.

salvage society. See Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*; Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig 1788 und 1801, reprint edn, Graz, 1967), "Vorrede"; Friedrich Schiller, *Über die aesthetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reihe von Briefen*, ed. Jürgen Bolten (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1984).

Shaftesbury's theories enjoyed a renaissance in German-speaking countries in the 1770s and 80s. Herder and Goethe engaged with his works during the peak of their friendship, *The Characteristics* were translated into German in 1776-9 and received a number of reprints. In Vienna the illuminati surrounding Ignaz von Born showed great interest in Shaftesbury's thoughts, and van Swieten was familiar with his theories both through his contacts in Northern Germany and in Vienna. Van Swieten shared one particular belief with the English empirical school: man's inherent need for society. Morality, then, was not one's ethical guide towards self-furtherance and aporia in an afterlife, but towards life in a free and functioning society. Through the equation of ethics and aesthetics, art was propelled into the centre of the formation of society, and it should be of little surprise that individual artefacts were fashioned and judged according to the aesthetic-cum-ethical yardstick rather than according to universal principles of form. In fact van Swieten, like Sulzer, implied that works of art could and should be brought into myriad guises in order to reach their target audience. Practical considerations aside, this was the ideological basis on which eighteenth-century composers reworked their operas for every new stage, performed their Oratorios as readily with twenty performers as with two hundred, and actively partook in the dissemination of their works in chamber arrangements.

Save for the theatre, no other art form was as adjustable to different audiences as music, and van Swieten's short, yet seminal lecture *Über die Bildung des Geschmacks* hints at a concept of "works" that accounts for meaning in the process of action, not stasis. His

understanding of art, and particularly of "music" as "energetic art" resonated in particular with Johann Gottfried Herder's ambitions to formulate a theory of art, in which he invoked Aristotle's distinction between doing (praxis) and making (poiesis).⁷³

Herder's views on art were seminally influenced by his readings of Shaftesbury as he confessed in the Preface to his aesthetics treatise, *Kalligone*.⁷⁴ Written in 1800 in response to Kant's *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, Herder made music - Kant's least revered art - the key to unlocking his theories; music, Herder stipulated, explains *how* subject and object, man and nature coincide.⁷⁵ Herder believed that the form

⁷³ Herder argued throughout his works on the origin of language that expression resides in the act and resists being encoded in static signs. In his theories, music bridges the gap between language and expression and is therefore the most natural art form, because – in contrast to language – its true meaning defies notational representation and will always remain with the act of making music. Music is a performing act, not a product. See f.ex. Johann Gottfried Herder, "Correspondence on Ossian and the Songs of the Ancient Peoples (1773)" quoted in translation from Joyce P. Crick in *The Origins of Modern Critical Thought: German Aesthetic and Literary Criticism from Lessing to Hegel*, ed. David Simpson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), at 72: "Now look at how all the travelers...have described the tone, the rhythm, the power of these songs even for strangers' ears. Examine how all the reports agree on how much these songs depend for their effect upon living movement, melody, gesture, and mime...". See also Rafael Köhler, "Johann Gottfried Herder und die Überwindung der musikalischen Nachahmungsästhetik," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 52/3 (1995): 205-19; and Isaiah Berlin, "Herder and the Enlightenment" in *Aspects of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Earl R. Wasserman (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), 47.

⁷⁴ Johann Gottfried Herder, *Kalligone*, ed. Heinz Begenau (Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1955), XIV. see also Denise Modigliani, "Zur moralisch-gesellschaftlichen Funktion der Dichtkunst bei Herder im Licht seiner Shaftesbury-Lektüre," *Herder Jahrbuch* (2000): 57-77.

⁷⁵ *Kalligone* is characterised by a polemicism characteristic of Herder's later writings, and it is integral to this polemicism that he angles his treatise on aesthetics around the art form least revered by Kant. He employs a similar strategy in the chapter on language in his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*. See Ralf Simon, "Polemik und Argument: Das kurze Kapitel zur Sprachphilosophie in Herders *Ideen*," in Regine Otto and John H. Zammito ed., *Vom Selbstdenken: Aufklärung und Aufklärungskritik in Herders "Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit"* (Heidelberg: Synchron Publishers, 2001), 145-156, at 148-149.

of each object carries its *Wesen*, and that it is this correlation that determines its beauty:

No line, no form, nor outline of nature is an arbitrary game; through the sense of touch it is the realistic expression of each object's *Wesen*, of its being, compounded from solidity and forces in consideration of stasis and movement. ... How fortunate are we, that we live in a world of harmony and beauty, in which everything that springs from laws of nature through tender forms reveals to us a marriage of calm and movement, an elastically effective formation of all things; in short a beauty that is the living expression of a physical perfection. Realistic and energetic to the highest degree, nature forces on us the true and the good, reality in its effect and its composition, with its rationale and consequences, more or less recognised by us, but always recognisable.⁷⁶

Because man is part of the natural order himself, his innermost sensitivities resonate with nature; he empathises (*nachempfinden*), which means that he is set in motion every time he encounters the harmonious form of nature.⁷⁷ The purpose of art is to rationalise and thereby to enhance the effect of this empathy.

The nature of this inner sensation of empathy – the meeting point of subject and object – is movement (*Bewegung*). Just as objects are

⁷⁶ Herder, *Kalligone*, 22: "Keine Linie, keine Gestalt und Umgränzung der Natur ist ein willkürliches Spiel; an Körpern ist sie, dem tastenden Sinn sogar, reeller Ausdruck ihres Wesens, ihres Seyns, zusammengesetzt aus Solidität und aus Kräften, in Rücksicht auf Ruhe und Bewegung..." and 25: "Dürfen wir uns nicht freuen, daß wir in einer Welt der Wohlordnung und Wohlgestalt leben wo alle Resultate der Naturgesetzte in sanften Formen uns gleichsam ein Band der Ruhe und der Bewegung, eine elastisch-wirksame Bestandheit der Dinge, kurz Schönheit, als leibhaften Ausdruck einer körperlichen Vollkommenheit, ihr selbst und unserm Gefühl harmonisch offenbaren? Höchst reell und energisch drängt uns die Natur allenthalben das Wahre und Gute, Realität in Wirksamkeit und Bestandheit, mit ihren Gründen und Folgen, mehr oder weniger von uns erkannt, aber erkennbar, selbst auf. Dies fühlt unser Sinn; wir genießen die Früchte dieser harmonischen Zusammenordnung."

⁷⁷ Herder, *Kalligone*, 50: "Unser Sinn und Gemüth ergreift das Schöne, we ers findet. Er spricht : du bist mein! Denn ich empfinde deine Eigenschaften mir harmonisch!" See also Ulrike Zeuch, "Sentio, Ergo Sum: Herder's Concept of 'Feeling' versus Kant's Concept of 'Consciousness'," *Herder Jahrbuch* (1998): 143-155.

formed of forces born of the balance of calm and movement (*Ruhe und Bewegung*), man's feelings are movements. Unlike verbal language, which describes these movements, music *is* movement itself:

Is there any question whether music is superior in its inner effectiveness to every art that is tied by the visible? She must exceed them just as the spirit exceeds the body: for she is spirit (*Geist*) related to grand nature's innermost force, movement. What is not graphic is communicable through her manner, through her manner alone, the world of the invisible. She speaks to him, stirringly, effectively; he himself – he knows not how – without effort and yet so mighty, stirs with her.⁷⁸

Herder understood music to be tangible form, because both its form and essence consist of movement, which is experienced physically by the listener. Music therefore explains how we can experience the essence (*Wesen*) of objects through their form, i.e. through their harmonic resonances. It is at once primordial and rational, natural and supernatural, and its non-conceptual elements gain meaning through their temporal unfolding, through movement. Music thus bridges the gap between subject and object:

Light and sound are neither object nor subject; rather, they stand between the two and inform the one what is harmonious or disharmonious to the other. The feeling thus aroused is the concept of an object as the subject can receive it; therefore it is truth.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Herder, *Kalligone*, 152: "Wäre es noch Frage, ob die Musik jede Kunst, die am Sichtbaren haftet, an innerer Wirksamkeit übertreffen werde? Sie muß sie übertreffen, wie Geist den Körper: denn sie ist Geist, verwandt mit der der großen Natur innersten Kraft, der Bewegung. Was anschaulich dem Menschen nicht werden kann, wird ihm in ihrer Weise, in ihrer Weise allein, mittheilbar, die Welt des Unsichtbaren. Sie spricht mit ihm, regend, wirkend; er selbst; (er weiß nicht wie?) ohne Mühe und so mächtig, ihr mitwirkend."

⁷⁹ Herder, *Kalligone*, 47: "In beiden Sinnen waren Licht und Schall weder Objekt noch Subjekt; sie standen aber zwischen beiden, und erzählten Diesem, was an oder in Jenem vorginge, ihm harmonisch oder disharmonisch. Dies erregte Gefühl war Begriff von der Sache, wie durch diesen Sinn der Empfindende sie erlangen konnte, mithin Wahrheit."

Herder deemed music more effective than language. Linguistic art, i.e. poetry and oratory must communicate in accordance with its audience's level of cultivation and is therefore necessarily bound by time and place.

Every language develops continuously to become the language of reason (*Vernunft*). If Homer moulded his gods, Dante and Milton their hell and devil into a comprehensible form, they did so through the folk's terms of their time and purpose; and so they did their work; they purified imagination through speech. Yet, the folk's terms (*Volksbegriffe*) are transient and with them their forms are old hat; we can only use them with considered choice and purpose, at a higher rational level, unless we want to seem childish. Homer's hero must not be our hero, even if the great poet spent all his art on him as a given ideal of his time. Art exists, we can learn from her continually; the idea itself, however, moves upwards and the material of art changes.⁸⁰

Art, here, is the manipulation of material through assemblage into a form that expresses that which lies beyond the meaning of its individual words.⁸¹ Its essence (*Wesen*), however, is ever-changing in accordance with the degree of cultivation of its audience. Music, on the other hand, speaks the more universal language of the emotions,

⁸⁰ Herder, *Kalligone*, 134: "Unaufhaltsam strebet jede Sprache darnach, Sprache der Vernunft zu werden. Wenn z.B. Homer seine Götter, Dante und Milton ihre Hölle und teufel aus damaligen Volksbegriffen durch Rede zu einer ihrer Zeit und ihrem Zweck gemäßen, verständigen Form bildeten, so thaten sie ihre Werk; sie läuterten die Phantasie durch Rede. Mit vorübergegangenen Volksbegriffen sind auch diese Formen für uns altes Geräth; wir können sie nicht oder nur in einem höheren Verstande mit Wahl und Absicht gebrauchen, sonst werden wir altväterlich-kindisch. Homers Held darf unser Held nicht seyn, ob der Dichter gleich auf ihn, als auf ein gegebenes Ideal seiner Zeit, seine Kunst unerreichbar wandte. Die Kunst bestehet, fortwährend können wir an ihr lernen; die Idee selbst aber ist hinaufgerückt und das Material der Kunst verändert."

⁸¹ Herder, *Kalligone*, 256: "Unglücklich ist der Dichter, der nicht mehr Gedanken zu wecken weiß, als er ausdrückt, dessen Gestalten und Eindrücke unserem Gemüth nicht wachsen."

through which it involves the listener immediately and not only via reason.

Through a marriage of nature, music, dance and gesture are intimately linked as the cornerstones of a common energy. Could they be lacking the most natural fourth corner, the voice of him who senses them? We join in, wherever we hear voices (Stimmen); the power of choirs in particular, is indescribable at the moment of joining and rejoining. No words can describe the grace of voices that accompany each other, they are one and they are not one; they depart, search, chase, contradict, argue, enhance and eliminate each other; they awaken and enliven, they comfort, flatter and embrace each other, until at last they die together in one note. There is no sweeter picture of searching and finding, of companionable argumentation and reconciliation, of loosing and of longing, of hesitant and wholehearted recognition, finally of the sweetness of complete unity and amalgamation, there is no sweeter picture than these two- and multi-voiced movements of tones, wordless and accompanied by words.⁸²

Herder's own description of instrumental music betrayed a considerable degree of rational recognition of the emotional forces at play. Indeed, he claimed that this element of recognition is an essential element of art. Man has the inherent tendency to seek out rules, and art assists the rationalisation of these rules:

⁸² Herder, *Kalligone*, 147: "Da also durch ein Band der Natur Musik, Tanz und Gebehrdung als Typen und Ektypen einer gemeinschaftlichen Energie innig verbunden sind, konnte ihnen der natürlichste Ektypus die Mitstimme der Empfindenden fehlen? Wir stimmen ein, wo Stimmen erklingen, die Gewalt der Chöre, insonderheit im Augenblick des Einfalles und Wiedereinfalles ist unbeschreibbar. Unbeschreibbar die Anmuth der Stimmen, die einander begleiten, sie sind Eins und nicht Eins; sie verlassen, suchen, verfolgen, widersprechen, bekämpfen, verstärken, vernichten einander, und erwecken und beleben und trösten und schmeicheln und umarmen einander wieder, bis sie zuletzt in Einem Ton ersterben. Es giebt kein süßer Bild des Suchens und Findens, des freundschaftlichen Zwistes und der Versöhnung, des Verlierens und der Sehnsucht, der zweifelnden und ganzen Wiedererkennung, endlich der völligen süßen Vereinigung und Verschmelzung als diese zwei und mehrstimmige Tongänge, Tonkämpfe, Wortlos und von Worten begleitet."

Not without culture; ... without concepts and ideas our feelings remain a land of confused dreams; it is reason that recognises the rule.⁸³

Herder, like Sulzer, explained that art's overarching purpose is the *Bildung* of morality.⁸⁴ Morality is educated and shaped by learning to recognise the beautiful, which for Herder is tantamount to the morally good (*das Sittliche*). In order for man to acknowledge the beautiful, it is not enough simply to empathise (*nachempfinden*), but man has to apply his *Vernunft*. As *Vernunft* is the combination of man's culture and rationality (*Kultur und Verstand*), it follows that the true recognition of the beautiful, which alone can grant the education of morality, must entail three steps: sensing the object, ordering it into previous sensations, recognising what causes its sensation. Art is only truly art if it inspires all three steps.

Bildend this type of art shall be; educating the human character in us; this is the point that gives art its nature (Wesen) as well as its worthy purpose in light of humanity. ... it is fine art's purpose to educate mankind in its entirety, to cultivate in man all that is cultivable with increasing harmony and energy. This, the only and eternal concept of the humanly beautiful (*das menschlich-Schöne*) is worthy of consideration.⁸⁵

⁸³ Herder, *Kalligone*, 88: "Nicht ohne Cultur; ... ohne Begriffe und Vorstellungen bleibt unser Gefühl ein Land verworrener Träume; der Verstand erkennt die Regel."

⁸⁴ On Herder's concept of *Bildung* see Rainer Wisbert, "Balance von Aufklärung und Bildung," in Otto and Zammito, *Vom Selbstdenken*, 57-71; Wisbert, *Das Bildungsdenken des jungen Herder. Interpretation der Schrift "Journal meiner Reise im Jahr 176,"* (Frankfurt a.M.: P. Lang, 1987); Christian Grawe, *Herders Kulturanthropologie* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1967); Marion Heinz, "Kulturtheorien der Aufklärung: Herder und Kant," in Regine Otto ed., *Nationen und Kulturen* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1996), 139-152; Ralph Häfner, *Johann Gottfried Herders Kulturentstehungslehre. Studien zu den Quellen und zur Methode seines Geschichtsdenkens* (Hamburg: Meiner, 1995).

⁸⁵ Herder, *Kalligone*, 264-5: "Bildend soll diese Gattung Künste und Wissenschaften werden; den Menschencharakter in uns bildend; dies ist der Punkt in dem alle zusammentreffen, die sich sonst in der Art ihres Wirkens nicht vereinigen. Er bezeichnet ihr Wesen sowohl als ihren der Menschheit, so lange sie dauert, würdigen

In contrast to Kant, Herder stressed the importance of the active process, the energy involved in the process of cultivation.⁸⁶ This energy, in fact, presents the solution to the seemingly irresolvable conflict between art's comprehensibility on the one hand and the sublime, which stimulates feelings of being overwhelmed, of incomprehensibility and of the infinite, on the other. If Burke saw the sublime as an indicator of man's limitations in light of the grand features of nature, Kant considered the sublime to be the limitation within man's senses of perception. For both, the sublime was a vital artistic category that shifted truly great art just beyond the limits of human understanding. Herder, on the other hand, assigned the sublime a markedly different function, by claiming that art and recognition assist the *Bildung der Menschheit* through the sublime.⁸⁷ For Herder, in stark contrast to Kant, the sublime was not an aesthetic category separate from the beautiful, but rather the sublime was the

Zweck. ... (die Tendenz der schönen Künste) ist, die Menschheit in ihrem ganzen Umfange auszubilden, was irgend in ihr und durch sie cultivabel ist, mit immer größerer Harmonie und Energie zu cultivieren. Dieser, der einzige und ewige Begriff des menschlich-Schönen ist einer Auseinandersetzung nicht unwerth." The idea that the purpose of beauty and art is the moral education of man appeared throughout Herder's pedagogical philosophies, which he presented in his *Reden an Jünglinge*, a string of speeches held during his position as Ephorus of the Weimarer Gymnasium since 1777. In "Vom Begriff der schönen Wissenschaften insonderheit für die Jugend," for instance, Herder argues vividly for the need to study the fine arts in order to educate man's soul: "Die Alten nannten die schönen Wissenschaften artes quae ad humanitatem pertinent, ad humanitatem informant, also Wissenschaften, die uns menschlich machen, die uns zu Menschen bilden: man könnte sie also auch vielleicht am besten bildende Wissenschaften nennen." Published in Johann Gottfried Herder, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Franz Schultz (Potsdam, 1939), III: 274-289, at 281.

⁸⁶ This point presented the core argument of his lecture "Vom Begriff der schönen Wissenschaften insonderheit für die Jugend," in *Herder: Gesammelte Werke* III: 274-289.

⁸⁷ Jeffrey Barnouw, "The Cognitive Value of Confusion and Obscurity in the German Enlightenment: Leibniz, Baumgarten, and Herder," *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 24 (1995): 29-50.

beautiful before the process of rationalisation has set in.⁸⁸ He vehemently opposed the existence of a sublime beyond comprehension, purely because this would have no function in the great harmonious unity between mankind and nature:

A holiness that lies beyond human nature, also lies outside of her; Visions of the supernatural composed of a conditionless duty born of conditionless freedom according to a conditionless rule, all of which exceed my nature, and for which my nature will forever long and search, are the sublime of the lectern....⁸⁹

Instead, Herder defined the sublime as a stage in the process of recognition, so that art should always inspire the moment of the sublime. In essence, though, the sublime is the beautiful, and it will reveal itself as such, once recognition and comprehension have set in:

Gradually, *Vernunft* awoke in us and ordered our youthful dreams; plants, trees, animals of all kinds we learned to recognise in nature and in description; we found them ordered according to systems, and we studied in all of them one unified image of nature, one type... Acknowledging this type, we follow it through all forms; what a sublime beauty and a beautiful sublime opens up within it! ... here, the vivid rule becomes visible... here, we find significance in contemplation of its construct and of the spirit, which gives it its soul. The sublime becomes beautiful, the beautiful sublime.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Myriam Bienenstock, "Herder, Reader of Kant: from Metaphysics to Aesthetics," *Etudes philosophiques* 3 (1998): 357-375; Rachel Zuckert, "Awe or Envy: Herder contra Kant on the Sublime," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 61/3 (2003): 217-232.

⁸⁹ Herder, *Kalligone*, 234: "Eine Heiligkeit, die über der menschliche Natur liegt, liegt auch außer ihr; Visionen ins Rein-Übersinnliche zu einer bedingungslosen Pflicht aus bedingungsloser Freiheit nach einem bedingungslosen Gesetz, das über meine Natur hinaus ist, und nach welchem sie doch als nach einem Unerreichbaren immer hascht und greift, sind Katheder-Erhabenheiten..."

⁹⁰ Herder, *Kalligone*, 198: "Allmählich erwachte unsre Vernunft und ordnete die Jugendträume; Gewächse, Bäume, Thiere, in allen Gattungen und Arten, lernten wir in der Natur oder in wahren Beschreibungen kennen; sogar fanden wir sie in Systeme geordnet, und studirten an Allen Ein gemeinsames Naturbild, Einen Typus. ... Anerkennend diesen Typus, verfolgen wir ihn durch alle Gestalten; welch ein

Herder defined the sublime as the moment of overcoming; for him the sublime was the beginning and end of beauty, because the sublime is that element of beauty that most vividly inspires man's combinatory faculties to achieve recognition. For Herder, the sublime was neither merely a subjective sentiment, as it was for Kant, nor the characteristic of an object, as which Burke described it in his aesthetic theory.⁹¹ Rather, he saw the sublime as the state of inspiration that is induced by the infinite, the unrecognisable; it forces the combination of sensual perception with reason and rational concepts in order to achieve recognition.

The infinite is the invitation to search for the sublime in us, which means: to search for the highest and most difficult beautiful; the feeling of the sublime is the beginning and end of the realm of the beautiful.⁹²

Haydn's *Creation*, particularly the opening *Representation of Chaos*, is hailed by his contemporaries as being at once the semblance

Erhabenschönes und schönes Erhabene geht uns in ihm auf! ... wird uns die lebendige Regel sichtbar. sind uns in Ansehung ihres Baues und des Geistes, der ihn beseelt, gleich merkwürdig. Das Erhabene wird schön, das Schöne wird erhaben. ...Als man uns in die Schule führte, kam uns nichts erhabner als das A.B.C. vor."

⁹¹ Kant describes the beautiful as expressed in form and shape. It therefore inspires the perception of boundaries and contours, whereas the sublime – in contrast – is defined by being formless and infinite. The beautiful, therefore, exists both in nature and as the feeling that it causes in the beholder; the sublime only exists as an inner sensation, see Kant, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft*, § 23 "Übergang von dem Beurtheilungsvermögen des Schönen zu dem des Erhabenen," at 112. Transl. Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, at 130. see also Rachel Zuckert, "Awe or Envy: Herder contra Kant on the Sublime;" Eric Baker, "Fables of the Sublime: Kant, Schiller, Kleist," *Modern Language Notes* 113/3, German Issue (Apr., 1998): 524-536; Guy Sircello, "How Is a Theory of the Sublime Possible?," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 51/ 4 (Autumn, 1993): 541-550. Dixon Wecter, "Burke's Theory concerning Words, Images, and Emotion," *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 55/1 (Mar., 1940): 167-181.

⁹² Herder, *Kalligone*, 201: "Das Unendliche ist Einladung, das rein und verständig Erhabene in ihm, mithin das höchste und schwerste Schöne zu suchen und zu finden; das Gefühl des Erhabenen ist dem Gebiet des Schönen Anfang und Ende."

and the resolution of this sublime; the listener feels a chaos that springs from the unknown, from the overwhelming mass of lines and forces, whilst simultaneously being rationally aware that (compositional) order underlies the seeming chaos. Herder explained that the feeling of the sublime overcomes the perceiver before he has broken the whole into its constituent parts:

The sensation takes the whole object in, or surrenders itself to the object; the impression, which we feel, is strong, but unstructured. That is how raw men feel; in light of surprisingly grand objects we all feel this way... On the other hand, men of calm and tender, yet alert senses, who can easily proceed from grasping the whole to seeing its elements, and who just as easily proceed the other way, are perfectly suited to a fine and proper taste.⁹³

The Creation, reduced to its musical prerequisites of a four-part harmonic structure that accompanies the melodic lines of arias, recitatives and choruses, thus assists the perceiver in breaking the emotional impact of the music down into its individual elements. The arrangement, therefore, reduces and analyses for him. At the same time, this reduction in forces bares the glimpse of the original *Anlage* of the composition, laying open its ingenious element for contemplation and re-living.⁹⁴

⁹³ Herder, *Kalligone*, 173: "das Gefühl nimmt ganz auf, oder giebt dem Gegenstande sich ganz hin; der Eindruck, den es empfindet, ist stark, aber ungegliedert. So empfinden rohe Menschen; bei überraschend-großen Gegenständen empfinden wir alle also... Menschen dagegen von ruhig-zarten, nicht schlaffen Sinnen, die bei dem Erfassen des Ganzen leicht in die Theile übergehen, und sich eben so leicht aus diesen das Ganze bilden, sie sind vorzüglich zum feinen, richtigen Geschmack geeignet."

⁹⁴ The idea that *Anlage* represents the original inspiration to a composition, and that it is supplemented by *Ausführung* and *Ausarbeitung* will be discussed further in Chapter V.

But its artistic function (in Herder's sense) goes beyond this. In contrast to Kant, Herder believed that *Gesellschaftlichkeit* is an a priori human quality.⁹⁵ In educating man's inherent moral tendencies art, therefore, has to serve the communal *Bildung*, not the education of an individual apart from society.⁹⁶

We are creatures of community; it is in us, we are in it. We do not demand and enjoy communication because of some "original contract, which dictates itself through mankind"; but because a communal desire binds us together, because we feel the pressing urge towards communication and exchange.⁹⁷

If Herder demanded that art should educate the human character in us,⁹⁸ he implied that its elements of feeling and recognition must be

⁹⁵ Herder sees the impossibility to separate man from his herd as a natural law. Stated as the second law of nature this tie between man and society is a seminal element in his philosophy of language. See Johann Gottfried Herder, "Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache," in *Gesammelte Werke* I: 207-372, at 333: "Zweites Naturgesetz – Der Mensch ist in seiner Bestimmung ein Geschöpf der Herde, der Gesellschaft: die Fortbildung einer Sprache wird ihm also natürlich, wesentlich, notwendig."

⁹⁶ This idea is prominent not only in *Kalligone*, but is expressed also in his earlier treatise *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (1774), trans. Eva Herzfeld, "Yet another philosophy of history for the education of the humanity," Ph.D. diss, Columbia Univ. 1968; this essay was a precursor to his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, particularly in its aesthetics of *Bildung*. See Harro Müller-Michaels, "Herders Ideen der Bildung und die Schulreform um 1800," in *Vom Selbstdenken*, ed. Otto and Zammito, 177-186; John H. Zammito, "Method versus Manner?: Kant's Critique of Herder's 'Ideen' in the light of the epoch of science, 1790-1820," *Herder Jahrbuch* (1998): 1-25; Damon S. Linker, "Can Communitarians live their Communitarianism?: The Case of J.G. Herder," Ph.D. diss, Michigan State University, 1998; Alioune Sow, "Johann Gottfried Herders Konzept kultureller Identität und sozialer Entwicklung," *Welfengarten. Jahrbuch für Essayismus* 8 (1998): 84-100.

⁹⁷ Herder, *Kalligone*, 108: "Nun aber (dank der Natur!) sind wir ... der Gesellschaft gehörige Geschöpfe; sie ist uns, wir sind ihr angeerbt. Gegenseitige Mittheilung fordern und genießen wir nicht "aus einem ursprünglichen Verträge, der durch die Menschheit selbst diktiert ist;" (fremde Wortspiele!) sondern weil ein gemeinschaftliches Bedürfnis uns bindet, weil wir zu gegenseitiger Mittheilung die dringendsten Neigungen und Triebe in uns fühlen."

⁹⁸ Herder, *Kalligone*, 264-65: "*Bildend* soll diese Gattung Künste und Wissenschaften werden; den *Menschencharakter* in uns bildend; dies ist der Punkt in dem alle zusammentreffen, die sich sonst in der Art ihres Wirkens nicht vereinigen. Er bezeichnet ihr *Wesen* sowohl als ihren der Menschheit, so lange sie dauert, würdigen

exercised in accordance with our natural disposition towards communality. This, according to Herder, is granted firstly through the use of *Muster und Übungen*, and secondly through active engagement, through working with the material, with the form of the beautiful:

Man is only capable of those things he tries and exercises! He possesses only that which he has acquired; the sweetest taste is that of a successful effort; man's bliss must be his own work.⁹⁹

Herder proposed the functional ideal of art not only in his writings, but, in fact, enacted it through them. His late writings, *Metakritik zur Kritik der reinen Vernunft* of 1799 and *Kalligone*, are not the only ones he wrote in direct response to engagement with another's works and thoughts; throughout his life Herder's works were in constant dialogue with the writings of his contemporaries.¹⁰⁰ If this has earned him the critique of not composing coherent systems of thought, it does, on the other hand, establish his view of art very clearly. Viewing art as a functional tool in the development and furtherance of humanity, Herder sacrificed the autonomy of any artwork (including philosophical tracts), setting them instead into dialogue with other such works. This dialogue manifested itself in critique, which Herder saw as a central strand in the functionality of art.

Zweck. ... (die Tendenz der schönen Künste) ist, die Menschheit in ihrem ganzen Umfange auszubilden, was irgend in ihr und durch sie cultivabel ist, mit immer größerer Harmonie und Energie zu cultivieren. Dieser, der einzige und ewige Begriff des *menschlich-Schönen* ist einer Auseinandersetzung nicht unwerth."

⁹⁹ Herder, *Kalligone*, 98: "Nur was der Mensch versucht und erprobt, kann er! Nur, was er sich erwarb, hat er; überstandene Mühe giebt ihm den süßesten Genuss, des Menschen Seligkeit muß sein eigen Werk, der Kunstpreis seines Lebens werden."

¹⁰⁰ Bärbel Schneider, *Herders Entleihungen aus der Weimarer Bibliothek: eine Bibliographie* (Wien: Ed. Praesens, 1999).

Throughout Herder's writings form and function are inseparable. As form and function weld together, the assessment of art happens less along generic boundaries than along degrees and manners of perception. Two essential elements, then, give value to art: the process of perception, energy and activity triggered by art, as well as the actual attributes of a contemplated object which help trigger these activities. This belief allowed Herder to account for the immediate emotions of the perceptive act as valuable even before the process of recognition has been completed. Act and process are an inevitable part of art's function, the moral education of man. As such, art's message is determined by each individual; secondly, art's form can be adjusted to the needs of a people or nation. Both of these maxims resonated with van Swieten's ideal role of art as described in his lecture *Über die Bildung des Geschmacks*. Herder and van Swieten argued along similar lines that it is the act of engaging with art that is central to art's function and meaning, and both stressed the relevance of this active engagement throughout their philosophies of education.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Herder lectured his Weimar students: "Seine Gedanken kann mir der Lehrer nicht eingeben, eintrichtern; meine Gedanken kann, will und muß er durch Worte wecken; also daß sie meine, nicht seine Gedanken sind. Worte sind bloß das Instrument, dies muß ich mit eigenen Kräften, auf meine Weise brauchen lernen, oder ich habe nicht gelernt. Der beste Prüfstein also, ob jemand etwas gefasst hat, ist, daß er's nachmachen, daß er's selbst vortragen kann, nach seiner eigenen Art, mit seinen eigenen Worten.... Recht lernen und recht lehren bestimmen also einander wie entgegengesetzte Winkel; durch fremden Fleiß kann jemand zwar gelehrt *lettré*, aber nicht gebildet *cultivé*, noch weniger *savant* werden, im echten Sinne des Wortes. Eigene Bildung erlangt man unter der Hand und Leitung eines rechtschaffenen Lehrers nur durch eigenen Fleiß, durch eigenen Bildung." Johann Gottfried Herder, "Vitae, non scholae discendum," in *Herder: Gesammelte Werke* III: 419-430, at 421-422 and 424. Whether van Swieten might have heard Herder's lectures during his sojourn in northern Germany during the 1770s remains unclear, yet his lecture from the 1790s bears obvious parallels with Herder's ideas.

The idea of music as an "energetic art," stipulated by both van Swieten and Herder, provides a philosophical backdrop for the musical life in the city palaces and noble houses of the late eighteenth century. Here, both seemingly formulaic music and arrangements were not only prevalent, but were discussed as serious essays in art precisely because the "doing" of art ranked above its "being". Musical arrangements – attended to by "serious" composers with considerable care and concern – were more than social documents; rather, they present van Swieten's classic material and Herder's ideal of art. By reproducing the music physically and thereby becoming part of it, one's senses "ear, eye and hand"¹⁰² – work together as one. Form and beauty are felt and recognised at once as the form aides each individual to sense, comprehend and ultimately create, a process heralded by Herder in his educational policies:

It is the sensual form of each science that grants the existence of its spirit. ... Just as nature awakens concepts in us through our senses, through impressions and exercise: so her servant and student, the teacher of science, must not do it differently; the more vivid, clear, pleasurable and sensual he presents an object to his students, the more noticeable it will be, what can be seen in it and what can't and what has to be grasped by the soul; the better he knows how to re-create the object by refashioning it from its composite parts and reducing it back to these parts, the better he knows to inspire in his students this act that resembles the act of creation itself ...the better he exercises his students.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Herder, *Kalligone*, 88.

¹⁰³ Johann Gottfried Herder, "Von Schulen als Übungsplätzen der Fähigkeiten der Seele," in *Herder:Gesammelte Werke* III: 405-418, at 410-411: "Es ist der Körper jeder Wissenschaft selbst, die sinnliche Form, ohne welche ihr Geist nicht sein kann. Wie man ohne Buchstaben nicht lesen, ohne Zahlen nicht rechnen, ohne Stimmen und Gebärden nicht sprechen und erzählen kann: so kann Mathematik z.B. nicht ohne sinnliche Darstellung, Geographie nicht ohne Landkarten, Naturgeschichte nicht ohne Abbildungen, Physik nicht ohne Versuche und Proben, Geschichte nicht ohne einen Leitfaden, der das Ganze verwebt und anschaulich macht, vorgetragen werden.

Finally, this process of recognition is exercised and experienced communally – through the involvement of at least five participants, who have to work in accord. The arrangement, then, follows the highest rules of the beautiful under an aesthetic concerned with the moral education of man via his aesthetic sensibilities, because its form expresses its artful purpose.

Jede von diesen Darstellungsformen fordert und weckt Übung. Wie die Natur alle unsere Begriffe mittelst der Sinne, mittelst ihrer Eindrücke und Übung aufweckt: so kann es der Diener und Schüler der Natur, der Lehrer einer Wissenschaft nicht anders; je lebhafter, je deutlicher, je angenehmer und sinnlicher er seinen Schülern diesen typus vorhält, je bemerklicher er ihnen macht, was in ihm gesehen und nicht gesehen werden kann, was mit der Seele gefasst werden muß, je mehr er diesen Typus selbst gleichsam zu schaffen, aus seinen Gliedern zu konstituieren, auf seine Glieder zurückzuführen, und bei seinen Schülern in eine Art Selbstschöpfung, das ist in Nachbildung zu verwandeln weiß; desto mehr übt er, das ist, er hat selbst und gewährt Übung."

Chapter V: The Evaluation of the Musical Work – Analysis, Performance and Value Judgement

1. Solitude or Conviviality: George Onslow as Chamber Musician

In 1831 Joseph D'Ortigue, music critique and amateur composer, travelled to the *Chateau de Chalandrat* near the city of Clermont-Ferrand to meet and interview the English-born and French-bred composer George Onslow, renowned across France for his prolific contribution to chamber music. In writing a biography of Onslow, Ortigue intended to establish him as the French Beethoven. Onslow certainly confessed great admiration for the recently deceased Beethoven, albeit only for his early works; trained in Austrian methods of composition of the turn of the century, Onslow described Beethoven's late works as aberrations.¹ The fact that these works seemed above and beyond reason was far from a positive asset for Onslow.

D'Ortigue, on the contrary, held high expectations regarding precisely that type of eccentricity in this artist's personality that would promise a similarly otherworldly status. He feverishly awaited the sight of the nobleman's allegedly elysian estate. His hopes were even exceeded: the location chosen by Onslow's father, M. Edouard Onslow, offered its visitor a breathtaking panoramic view across an overwhelming spectacle of natural landscape. Settled on one of the

¹ G. Onslow reported by J. D'Ortigue, "Biographie musicale: George Onslow," *Revue de Paris*, 17.11.1833, reprinted in Joseph D'Ortigue, *Écrits sur la Musique 1827-1846*, Sylvia d'Écuyer ed. (Paris: Société de Musicologie: 2003), 356: "Oh! Croyez, Monsieur, que le seul sentiment qui me fait parler ainsi, c'est la profonde douleur qui j'éprouve de voir cet homme sublime tomber dans de semblables aberrations."

higher peaks of the meandering hills and hillocks of the most beautiful part of the Limagne, Onslow's grand mansion overlooked

a gathering of country seats, villages, and little huts that are dispersed in the vast panorama, the ones perched on the peaks of the thousand little hills which play in the viewer's eye, the others glistening against the shadowy meanderings of the hillocks. They are on all the peaks, in all the elevations of this landscape, uneven and varied in all its detail, immense, and imposing in its ensemble. The river Allier has excavated its bed from the bottom of the plain, where it traces a majestic curve just like the brilliant rainbow above the meadows. Over there, a grand building, whose long white walls bathe in the river, out of which emerge in regular lines rows of trees that enclose this sanctuary (Onslow's estate) from business.²

The perfection of this view overwhelmed Ortigue's artistic nature; viewed from this "point de vue plus complet" the tracks of humanity were fused into a perfect harmony with nature's grandeur as the

towns, villages, castles, ruins, mountains, streams, forests, meadows and roadways, all these accidents (of nature and of landscape) pass each other in playful games, contrasting with the static horizon; at each hour of the day the game is played with different nuances and fantastical reflections depending on the degree of light and the elevation of the sun.³

² D'Ortigue, "Biographie Musicale," 353: "...une foule de maisons de plaisance, de villages, de hameaux s'éparpille sur ce vaste panorama, les uns perchés au sommet de ces mille mamelons que se jouent dans la perspective, d'autres qui se glissent à travers les sinuosités ombreuses des collines. Il y en a sur tous les points, à toutes les hauteurs de ce paysage, inégal et varié dans ses détails, immense, imposant dans son ensemble. L'Allier a creusé son lit dans le bas-fond de la plaine où il trace une courbe majestueuse comme un brillant arc-en-ciel dans les prairies. Là-bas, c'est une grande fabrique, dont les longues murailles blanches baignent dans la rivière, d'où partent en lignes régulières les rangées d'arbres qui enclosent ce frais asile de l'industrie."

³ D'Ortigue, *Biographie Musicale*, 353-354: "Villes, villages, châteaux, ruines, montagnes, fleuve, forêts, prairies, routes, tous ces accidents se croisent en jeux mobiles dans l'immobile horizon et présentent, à chaque heure de la journée, des nuances particulières et des reflets fantastiques, suivant le degré de la lumière et l'élévation du soleil."

With powerful idioms Ortigue conjured up the striking image of the negligible man-made constructions that lay embedded in nature's grand scheme; a seemingly random array of meandering lines and a kaleidoscope of colours, nature unravelled before one's eyes the perfection of beauty, which found a miniature reflection in Onslow's estate itself. Looking out and looking in, the spectator was subjected to the same designs that, though appearing like arrays of chance, were subject to a higher order that bows to the movements of the earth's steady path around the sun. Onslow's garden recreated this conflation of disarray and construction, of detail and balance; its elements tessellated into an overall form that is a child of a higher order, not of chance. This same belief in a higher order that dominated Ortigue's observations of nature, then, is rationalised in the garden construction:

we peruse the flowerbeds, the gardens, the terraces, which recede like amphitheatres from the base of the large façade of the chateau; that grand lawn that unfurls at the bottom of the espaliers and that will reach the walls of the neighbouring village; the park, the woods cut through by capricious alleys and frolicking brooks, which also serve as girdles around the house and gardens; those edges similar to ribbons of greenery, which envelop in their meanderings the hillocks and valleys; we traverse the nursery, that young forest of dwarf trees that the hand of Onslow planted here six years ago, the same hand that wrote *Le Colpoteur* and the beautiful quintet in e minor.⁴

⁴ D'Ortigue, *Biographie Musicale*, 354: "Parcourons ces parterres, ces jardins, ces terrasses qui s'échappent en amphithéâtres au bas de la large du château, cette grande pelouse qui se déploie au-dessous des espaliers et qui va atteindre les murs du village voisin ; ce parc, ces bois coupés par de capricieuses allées, par de folatres ruisseaux, et qui servent de ceinture à la maison et aux jardins ; ces lisières pareilles à des rubans de verdure, qui enveloppent dans leurs plis et replis les collines et les vallées ; traversons cette pépinière, cette jeune forêt d'arbres nains que la main d'Onslow a plantés il y a six ans, cette même main qui a écrit *le Colpoteur* et le beau Quintette en *mi bémol*."

The design of the artificial reflects nature according to a higher order that is perceived as a perfect unity of intricate details, each one subjugated to the whole. In stark contrast to the Viennese landscape gardens of the 1780s and 90s, the function here was not to lead the spectator on a path towards enlightenment, but to display a universal truth in its unity. The beholder could merely seek to comprehend the whole by posthumously segregating it into its elements, but he would forever stand in awe of its mighty creation.

The artist was the subject of nature, and nature's vastness was recreated in miniature in each work of art. Art therefore presented a rationalisation of nature – like a raree show it confined the grand into a space graspable by man. Tamed nature, i.e. the dwellings that symbolise man's rationalisation of a natural order, became the soil for the composer's inspiration, for his "genius." Far from the industry of a world of human interaction, here the artist was free to contemplate the natural laws of beauty and recreate them in various guises. Thirty years after van Swieten's functional approach to art, Ortigue's descriptions of artistic creation forewent social interaction and replaced it with an idealisation. The state of *Begeisterung* was induced in the individual by nature itself, and it unfolded best in a state of human solitude that allowed for the unity of the individual with nature.

George Onslow, the alleged subject of Ortigue's biography, however, was the quintessential aristocratic musical dilettante. His own affiliation with music was triggered by his love of the social aspect

of chamber music. During the first half of the century numerous articles in periodicals and encyclopaedias across Europe attested to his renown as a master of chamber music; articles appeared in the *Revue Musicale*, the *Gazette Musicale*, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, the *Harmonicon*, the *Musical World*, even in Warsaw in the *Pamiętnik Muzyczny*, and in Vienna a lengthy obituary for Onslow appeared in the *Wiener Monatsschrift für Theater und Musik*;⁵ the sheer number of reprints that his music received is testimony to the popularity of his music with the contemporaneous playing public.

If Ortigue was indebted to the Romantic notions of a universal truth that inspires the artist, Onslow thought of the emotional states that art induces in far more worldly terms:

we are both intoxicated with music, intoxicated with our art!
Only, you, you love the wines that are heady, that intoxicate,
that trouble the brain, that rob you of your senses and give you
nightmares. I myself love the wines that are frank and generous,
that exalt the imagination and excite wit and spirit, without
making you lose your mind. Each to their own. In the end, it
doesn't matter. You are welcome. I will always recall that you
were seen weeping at the performance of one of my quintets by
the Bohrer brothers.⁶

⁵ Between 1830 and 1840 articles including reviews of Onslow's music or biographical information about the composer appeared in: *The Harmonicon* 1830 and 1832; *Revue Musicale* in 1830, 1831 and 1833; *Gazette Musicale* 1834; *NZfM* Nov 1834 and 1837; *Pamiętnik Muzyczny Warszawski* 1835; *Musical World* 1837 and 1838; *Revue et Gazette Musicale* 1836, 1837 and 1838. In 1936 on the other hand, J.G. Prod'Homme had to annotate Onslow's name in his excerpts of Anton Reicha's biography as follows: "forgotten today, but outstanding in his time as a composer of chamber music." See J.G. Prod'Homme, "From the Unpublished Autobiography of Antoine Reicha," *The Musical Quarterly* 22/3 (July, 1936): 339-353, at 340.

⁶ D'Ortigue, "Biographie Musicale," 357: "Nous sommes tous les deux ivres de musique, ivres de notre art! Seulement, vous, vous aimez les vins capiteux, qui grisent, qui troublent le cerveau, qui font déraisonner et donnent le cauchemar. Moi, j'aime les vins francs et généreux, qui exaltent l'imagination, qui excitent la saillie et la verve, sans faire perdre la raison. Chacun a son goût. Au surplus, n'importe. Vous êtes le bienvenu. Je me souviens de vous avoir vu pleurer à l'exécution d'un de mes quintettes chez les frères Bohrer."

For Onslow music remained a balm for the spirit and the intellect rather than the refuge of his impenetrable subconscious. Music was wedded to the experience of playing it; its power exalted in the community of players and listeners. Ortigue and Onslow, then, stand metaphorically for two different concepts of music. The belief in a higher order, with which Ortigue's rhetoric is saturated, is lacking from Onslow's words; rather, Onslow's musical inspiration comes from the experience of sound and performance. What unites the two is the strong power of the imagination: the sounding string quintet can be fathomed on the piano; played by the two of them together, interaction as well as timbre seem almost audible:

Allegro, Andante, Scherzo, Allegro vivace, the whole work went by; at least all that had been written. Two movements only were left to be done. The artist sweated, he panted and became breathless. It is true that, however skilful he was, he couldn't make the four concertant parts be heard distinctively, nor could he put them into relief; but I supplemented the hearing with reading. From time to time, I would give shape to the violoncello's line in the Grave, while his two hands were occupied with unravelling the work of the viola and the two violins. Thus we played with three hands.⁷

Onslow begged Ortigue to partake in playing his work, for only the actual playing can harvest the fruits of his labour. That Onslow not only considered actual performance indispensable for a composition,

⁷ D'Ortigue, "Biographie Musicale," 357: "Allegro, Andante, Scherzo, Allegro vivace, toute l'œuvre y passa; tout du moins ce qui était écrit. Deux morceaux seulement restaient à faire. L'artiste suait, il haletait, il était essoufflé. Il est vrai que, tout habile qu'il était, il ne pouvait faire entendre distinctement, ni mettre en relief les quatre parties concertantes; mais je suppléais à l'ouïe par la lecture. De temps en temps, je me chargeais de rendre un dessin de violoncelle dans le grave, tandis que ses deux mains étaient occupées à débrouiller le travail de l'alto et des deux violons. Nous jouions ainsi à trois mains."

but relied heavily on the interaction between composer and performer for his creative process of composition was, curiously, demonstrated through Ortigue's description of Onslow's enthusiasm, a category that Ortigue understood to be purely internal and individual:

He played another prelude, then he gave himself up to another beautiful inspiration. It was large, it was grandiose: his imagination began to warm up. With each phrase, his eyes seized upon mine and the emotion that I experienced excited his imagination⁸

Stripped of Ortigue's rhetoric of the possessed spirit, this passage betrays the difference between the two men: while Onslow played with the outside, Ortigue played for his inside. Onslow's imagination was enthused by the world of performance, not by the isolated world of composition.

In 1855, twenty years after Joseph Ortigue's biography, August Gathy composed an obituary on Onslow that summarised Onslow's renown in the field of chamber music. Through his thirty-six string quartets and thirty-four string quintets he had become known and much admired across Europe. Gathy's essay exudes a deep sense of admiration for the composer, yet his panegyrics bear none of the Beethovenian exaltation Ortigue tried to attach to Onslow. According to Gathy, Onslow was a man of success who acquired the great art of writing music for the highest aesthetic pleasure, yet not for spiritual exaltation. The account presented in this report, as in many other

⁸ D'Ortigue, "Biographie Musicale," 357, on playing Onslow's latest quartet op. 46: "Il prelude encore, puis se livra à une belle inspiration. C'était large, c'était grandiose: son imagination commençait à s'échauffer. À chaque phrase, ses yeux se collaient sur les miens et l'émotion que j'éprouvais excitait son inspiration."

nineteenth-century sources, stresses that the social value of chamber music was germane to Onslow's affiliation with music from the outset:

He had learned the cello and he began to develop a special predilection for this instrument, when his dexterity offered him the opportunity to fill his hours in the province in a most pleasurable and enlightening manner by playing chamber music in the company of art-loving friends.⁹

Gathy reported that Onslow held chamber music gatherings at his estate, whilst also partaking in social music-making in Paris, particularly at the home of Baron Tremont, who held regular music matinees on Sunday mornings. Here, the now aging Baron himself played the cello.¹⁰ In his later years, Onslow seemed to derive great pleasure from the performance of his music by the renowned virtuosi of the French capital, as both Ortigue and Gathy reported; Ortigue went so far as to claim that it was this ideal sound of his compositions when played by performers such as P. Baillot and F. Habeneck that inspired his imagination and urged him on to further compositions; the true versions of his chamber music existed in their performances.¹¹ In

⁹ August Gathy, "Biographisches: George Onslow. Eine Skizze," *Monatsschrift für Theater und Musik* I/1 (1855): 33-42, at 35: "Auch (hatte er) das Violoncello erlernt, und er gewann für dieses ... eine große Vorliebe, als ihm seine Fertigkeit in der Behandlung desselben Gelegenheit bot, im Verein mit einigen kunstgebildeten Freunden die langen Mußestunden der Provinz mit dem Vortrag guter Kammermusik auf das angenehmste und belehrendste auszufüllen."

¹⁰ Gathy, "Biographisches," 35: "Auch in den gedachten Tremont'schen Sonntagsmatinéen, ..., erlebte man ab und zu ein Onslow'sches Quintett, wobei dann der Baron selbst das Fundament führte, und das kleine, hagere, kränkliche, fast durchsichtige Männchen aus Haut und Knochen, eine Fußbank besteigend, gar wunderlich anzuschauen war herumpeitschend und hanthierend auf dem Rieseninstrument, ohne aller Anstrengung zum Trotz viel mehr hervorbringen zu können als ein klägliches Säuseln."

¹¹ D'Ortigue, "Biographie Musicale," 358: "Oh ! qu'il me tarde d'entendre l'Allegro final de mon Quatuor en *fa* dièse mineur sous l'archet de Baillot ou de Habeneck !"

Gathy's account these performances were merely an added bonus that followed the pleasure of his private play-throughs at home:

His prolific attention to the genre, to which he was naturally most drawn, was also favoured by external factors. Firstly, as we have seen, the immediacy with which the trusted circle of friends in the country could bring to life his barely finished compositions; secondly, upon each visit to the capital, the ease and joy with which he could entice highly virtuosic members of the numerous quartet societies to perform the works for him.¹²

It is essential, however, that Gathy never lost sight of the fact that playing in private circles at home or at Baron Tremont's most inspired Onslow to compose:

At his friends', especially at Baron *de Tremont's*, his latest creations were played from manuscript prior to publication; it was most enticing to observe the spirited play on the face of the composer as he stood beside the first violinist: his expressions reflected even the most subtle intentions almost better than the score itself could.¹³

Gathy's descriptions of Onslow's musical education equally emphasised the significance of practical playing with friends and colleagues for his acquisition of theoretical knowledge:

¹² Gathy, "Biographisches," 39: "Auf die Pflege der Gattung, in welcher aus angeborener Anlage und Neigung sich sein Schaffensdrang vorzugsweise best thigte,  u erten freilich auch  u ere Antriebe beg nstigenden Einflu . Zun chst wie wir gesehen, die Befriedigung der sofortigen eigenen Belebung seiner kaum niedergeschriebenen Compositionen im vertraulichen Kreise auf dem Lande; dann aber bei seinem jedesmaligen Erscheinen in der Hauptstadt die Leichtigkeit und Freude, sich dieselben von den zahlreichen von Virtuosen ersten Ranges besetzten Quartettvereinen vorf hren zu lassen."

¹³ Gathy, "Biographisches," 40: "Bei einigen Freunden, namentlich bei Tremont, wurden dann seine neuesten Erzeugnisse aus dem Manuscripte vorgetragen, bevor er sie der Oeffentlichkeit  bergab, und es war anziehend, das geistreich lebendige Mienenspiel das am Pulte des ersten Geigers stehenden Componisten zu beobachten, aus dessen ausdrucksvollen sch nen Z gen die feinsten Intentionen sich zu erkennen gaben und fast deutlicher herauszulesen waren als aus der Partitur selbst."

Soon, his predilection (for chamber music) became a veritable passion, and his assiduous study of all the best chamber music, to which – thanks to his diligent practical playing of them – he owed his great facility in harmony and voice-leading as also his knack of combining the instruments, was - in addition to the instructive time spent with an elderly friend - of great theoretical learning not insignificant for his theoretical education, an excellent *Urschool* of compositional studies, which he only undertook later under Reicha.¹⁴

Onslow's musical education began with piano lessons from Dussek, Hüllmandel and Cramer at various times before 1805.¹⁵ Such instruction would certainly have entailed the study of figured bass besides issues of performance. His playing companion and later dedicatee of his quintets op.1, Count Murat, instigated an early interest in composition. He provided him with a copy of Catel's *Traité d'Harmonie*, a work that sought to simplify Rameau's harmonic theories to make them accessible for practical application.¹⁶ The method had just been accepted by the commission of the Paris

¹⁴ Gathy, "Biographisches," 40: "Bald wandelte sich seine Neigung für diese Gattung in eine wahre Leidenschaft, und sein eifriges Studium des Besten auf diesem Gebiete, welchem er bei fleissiger practischer Ausübung seine nachmalige große Gewandtheit in Harmonie und Stimmenführung wie sein Geschick in der Behandlung der Instrumente verdankte, war nächst dem belehrenden Verkehr mit einem bejahrten Jugendfreunde von nicht unbedeutender theoretischer Bildung, eine treffliche Urschule zum Compositionsstudium, dass er erst viel später unter Reicha's Leitung betrieb."

¹⁵ Hüllmandel stayed in London between 1790-92; Onslow possibly visited his uncle in London during this time. Dussek was in Hamburg from 1798-99 and Onslow, following his father into exile, met him there. Studies with him are confirmed by a letter by Onslow himself. Cramer settled in England for good in 1800; this is the same time that Onslow returned from his exile and resettled in France. In 1801 he heard Stratonice in Paris; the studies with Cramer were therefore most likely between 1802 and 1805. It is conceivable that he had lessons with Hüllmandel at the same time. Viviane Niaux, *George Onslow: Musical Education and Journeys from 1784 to 1807 as Evidenced in 19th Century Sources and Documents*, Société George Onslow, [cited March, 3rd 2005], available from [www.cmbv.com\(onslow\(eng/etudeseng.htm\)\)](http://www.cmbv.com(onslow(eng/etudeseng.htm))).

¹⁶ Francois Stoelpel, "George Onslow: esquisse biographique," *Gazette musicale de Paris* 11/5 No 19 (1834): 149-153.

Conservatoire as the official teaching method for the study of thorough-bass.¹⁷ The treatise presents a sequence of bass realisations that follow the natural hierarchy of the chords; it combines the rules of proper voice leading with the ideology of a natural justification for these progressions. As such, the ear is supposed to be trained into the proper, i.e. naturally given "taste" at the same time as training one's dexterity.¹⁸ However, Catel's rules are so concise and theoretical that, while serving well as a reference work for instruction by a teacher, they can hardly be seen as a self-sufficient teaching method for composition: the method conveys an understanding of harmony rather than the ability to construct a composition. It appears, therefore, that Onslow must have deduced such knowledge from the playing of chamber music, particularly that of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven; in fact, his library contained numerous works by Mozart, Haydn quartets and Beethoven's opus 18.¹⁹ Onslow acquired "taste" through playing.

2. George Onslow's *String Quintets Op.1*

Onslow composed and published his first compositions, the string quintets op.1, before he had received any formal compositional training. In a comprehensive study of Onslow's string chamber music,

¹⁷ Murat himself reported that Catel was his teacher and that he transferred this knowledge to Onslow. See Hypolite de Murat, *Notice sur George Onslow* (Clermont-Ferrand, Landriot: Printed by Thibaut, 1853). For an account of the differing reports on Onslow's early musical education, see Niaux, *George Onslow: Musical Education*, [www.cmbv.com\(onslow\(eng/etudeseng.htm\)\)](http://www.cmbv.com(onslow(eng/etudeseng.htm))).

¹⁸ Catel stated in conclusion that the guiding force in all composition is the ear – this alone can tell right from wrong, see *Traité d'Harmonie par Catel*. (Leipzig: C.F. Peters Bureau de Musique, 1802), 53: "la seule don't on ne doive jamais s'écarter, est de satisfaire l'oreille. C'est le but essentiel de la musique, et les règles ne sont créées, que pour l'atteindre."

¹⁹ Personal Correspondence with Viviane Niaux, 2004.

Christine Nobach assesses these compositions according to their articulation of form through "melodische Verarbeitung."²⁰ Indebted to an ideal of "thematische Arbeit" as a defining characteristic for the quality of a chamber music composition, her judgement is far from favourable. The op.1 quintets can only be seen as "the very first attempts at composition that may not even foretell the later quintet style."²¹ I will quickly list the characteristics that mark the quintets as early: they are primarily monothematic; the final movements are in refrain structure and exceedingly long; the developments are brief and work with a single theme, though they do introduce a subsidiary motif; another striking feature, Nobach claims, is Onslow's failure to use the lower voices beyond their function as harmonic fillers; further, Nobach regards the frequent unison statements of themes at the beginning of movements (first movements of op.1 nos.1 and 3, Finale of op.1 no.2) as indicative of an immature compositional style; finally, the Coda endings that are entirely deprived of thematic material betray the same untrained compositional language.²²

Onslow obviously deemed these first contributions to chamber music important enough to invest in their publication. In 1807 Pleyel published in the common format of five part books the *Trois Quintetti. Le Premier et le Troisième pour deux Violons, deux Altos et Violoncelle, et*

²⁰ Christine Nobach, *Untersuchungen zu Georg Onslows Kammermusik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1985).

²¹ Nobach, *Onslows Kammermusik*, 91.

²² Nobach concludes that these quintets even lack in compositional quality in comparison with the quartets op.4 and the trios op.3 that are to follow shortly, which leads her to conjecture that a period of "intense occupation with the techniques of chamber music composition" must have preceded the composition of op.3. Nobach, *Onslows Kammermusik*, 91.

le Second pour deux Violons, Alto, et deux Violoncelles. Composés et dédiés a son ami Hyppolite de Murat par George Onslow. 1. (in ms) Livraison. Prix 6 ». Gravé par Richomme A Paris. Chez Pleyel, Auteur et Editeur de Musique. Rue Neuve des Petits Champs no13 vis à vis le Trésor Public. Déposés à la Bibliothèque Imp. 754. 755. 756. Numerous reprints of these works prove the quintets' popularity. Janet et Cotelte published the quintets some time between 1812 and 1824, an edition that differs only in slur markings from the Pleyel first edition.²³ The works were published in Vienna in 1817 by Steiner and Comp., and this edition was subsequently sold also in Amsterdam with a label of Theune & Comp.²⁴ Breitkopf & Härtel published the quintets some time before 1830.²⁵ All of these editions vary in articulation markings only, and they can be linked to each other. An edition issued by the

²³ Full title: *Trois Quintetti Le premier et le troisième pour deux violons, deux altos & violoncelle et le second pour deux violons, alto & deux violoncelles composées et dédiées a son ami Hyppolite de Murat par G. Onslow 1^e livraison Op.1.Prix 6. gravé par Richomme à Paris.* The Janet et Cotelte label is glued on and the plate number is the same as the Pleyel edition, which suggests that the firm used the same plates merely adding slurs here and there. The address on the title page is: *Chez Janet et Cotelte Mds de Musique ordinaires du Roi et de la Famille Royale, successeurs de Mr Imbault, Rue St. Honoré, No 125, près celle des Pouliers, et Rue Neuve des Petits Champs, No 17, vis-à-vis la Trésorerie.* Janet et Cotelte had their retail shop at 17 Rue Neuve until 1824; in 1812 they had added premises on the Rue St. Honoré, No 123 and 125 and in July they took over the firm of Imbault. This suggests that the op.1 publication must stem from the years 1812-1824.

²⁴ Full title: *1tes Quintett für zwei Violinen, zwey Violen und Violoncell, von Georg Onslow. 1tes Werk Nro. 1 Preis Das 2te Quintett ist für 2 Violinen, Viola und 2 Violonzell. Wien bei Steiner und Comp. No. 1/2645, 2/2646, 3/2647.* According to Alexander Weinmann the plate numbers for the firm of Steiner provide a reliable indication of chronology; PN 2644 is announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* Nr.108, 10.5.1817; PN 2648 is announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* Nr 278, 3.12.1817 ; he found no adverts for the Op.1 quintets, which suggests that we must date them between May and December of 1817.

²⁵ Full title: *Trois Quintetti. Le premier et le troisième pour deux violons, deux altos & violoncelle et le second pour deux violons, alto & deux violoncelles composées et dédiées a son ami Hyppolite de Murat par G. Onslow Op.1 Liv.III. Pr. 1Thlr. Chez Breitkopf & Härtel à Leipsic. PN 4544^a.*

Magasin de Musique in Paris includes alterations to individual bars, though, never to substantial musical passages.

On July 30, 1830 the *Revue Musicale* announced the publication of Onslow's *Collection Complète de Quintettes et Quartettes*, issued by Pleyel in Paris. The edition promised to comprise all works composed so far as well as all those that Onslow would be composing in the future:²⁶

We can guarantee our subscribers all the quintets and quartets that this composer will write from here on. We will commit at the same time to providing similar editions of all those that have already been published.²⁷

The publication bore witness both to the high esteem Onslow enjoyed in France and to the popularity of his chamber music that would guarantee its sales. During the same month, the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* issued an advertisement and review for a new publication of Onslow's quintets op.1 by Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig and Pleyel in Paris; though no mention was made that this was part of the new complete edition, the announcement revealed that this was a "new edition with numerous changes and additions by the author:"

Trois Quintetti pour deux Violons, Alto et deux Violoncelles composés – par George Onslow. Nouvelle édition avec des nombreux changemens et additions de l'auteur. Oeuv. 1 Liv. 1, 2

²⁶ Onslow's string quintets so far comprised the three quintets op.1, and the single works op. 17, 18, 19, op. 23-25, op.32-35 and op. 37, as well as the quartets op. 4 no. 1-3, op. 8- op. 10 three each, op. 21 and op.36. During his lifetime he composed 34 quintets and 36 quartets in total.

²⁷ *Revue Musicale* (30.7.1830), 283: "Nous pouvons assurer à nos souscripteurs tous les *quintetti* et *quatuors* que composera par la suite cet auteur. Nous nous engageons en meme temps de fournir une semblable édition a celle que nous publions en ce moment."

et 3 (Propr. des édit.) à Leipsic chez Breitkopf et Härtel ; à Paris chez J. Pleyel et C. Jedes der drey Hefte kostet 1 Thlr. 12 Gr.²⁸

Indeed, the changes were substantial. The original dedication to "son ami Hyppolite de Murat" was gone, and the quintets were attractive to a wider market, because they now appeared in six part books - two violins, two violas, and two violoncellos – thereby providing two choices of instrumentation.²⁹ The movements were reordered: in op.1 no.1 the middle movements were simply swapped around; in no.2, however, an entire movement was added, so that the quintet now consisted of the first movement followed by a Minuet, which had been the *Finale Minuetto* of the first edition; then followed the original Andante, and the quintet concluded with a newly-composed Finale Allegro Vivace. More importantly, Onslow made substantial changes within each movement's compositional framework. I will illustrate these changes with reference to the first movement of op.1 no.1.

The grand Allegro Maestoso that opens op.1 no.1 is considerably shorter in the 1830 *Collection complète* version. This shortening entails three compositional decisions: firstly, Onslow cut bars 19 to 45 (he recomposed from bar 16 and cut bars 19 to 45; the new bar 24 equals the old bar 45) and thereby sacrificed entirely new thematic material (bar 35 onwards) that preceded the arrival of the relative major (in bar 45) with thematic material from theme one (Example 27a).

²⁸ *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* XXXII/30 (July 1830): col.487.

²⁹ The early editions had been very specific: the first and third quintets require two violins, two violas and one violoncello, whereas the second quintet requires only one viola and two cellos.

Example 27a (continued)

System 1 (Measures 26-32): This system contains measures 26 through 32. It features a complex texture with multiple staves. Dynamics include *f* (forte), *ff* (fortissimo), and *pp* (pianissimo). The notation includes various note values, rests, and articulation marks.

System 2 (Measures 33-39): This system contains measures 33 through 39. Dynamics include *p* (piano) and *rf* (riformando). The notation includes various note values, rests, and articulation marks.

System 3 (Measures 40-46): This system contains measures 40 through 46. Dynamics include *dol.* (dolando) and *legato*. The notation includes various note values, rests, and articulation marks.

System 4 (Measures 47-53): This system contains measures 47 through 53. The notation includes various note values, rests, and articulation marks.

15

dim

dim

mf

mf

P

P

P

P

16

cres

cres

tr

cres

cres

tr

f

f

f

f

f

Example 27b: G. Onslow. String Quintet Op.1 No.1 (i), bars 15-29; reproduction of the original score publication of 1830

Example 27 b (continued)

The musical score for Example 27 b (continued) spans measures 21 to 24. It is written for five staves: two treble staves and three bass staves. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 2/4. The music features rapid sixteenth-note passages, often beamed together, and sustained notes. Performance markings include 'ritenuto poco' (ritardando a little), 'dim' (diminuendo), 'p' (piano), 'pp' (pianissimo), and 'legato' (smoothly connected). The score shows a transition from a more active, rhythmic texture in the earlier measures to a more sustained, legato texture in the later measures.

In effect, this turns the movement, whose first and second key areas were already broadly reliant on the same thematic material, into a monothematic movement proper. As a result, the entire development section needs to be recomposed. Thirdly, and most interestingly, in order to retain a sense of variety, Onslow turned to the material that was previously leading up to the climactic ending of the exposition,

now treating it thematically. The triplet figuration that was formerly purely part of a cadential play-out, a moment of virtuosic bantering between the instruments, has become a counter-theme to theme 1 in the recomposed development section. In fact, the entire new development section is sustained by this performative, virtuosic figure (Examples 28a and 28b).

The *AmZ* review of the revised edition is striking in many respects. Firstly, the reviewer states that taking note of renewed editions is a futile endeavour unless the composer himself has contributed something entirely new to art, unless he displays a new purpose:

It would be superfluous to talk of an already well-known and revered composer at great length, unless he has brought a new purpose to his object, which will further art in general.³⁰

The reviewer concedes further that only an in-depth comparison between the old and new versions can tease out this new purpose – a project for which the space of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* is too limited. Yet, to assess the changes the reviewer himself has gone to the trouble of transcribing the old and new versions into score, but this, he claims, is in fact "a detour."³¹

³⁰ *AmZ* XXXII (July 1830): col. 487-489: "Von einem so altbekannten und geschätzten Tondichter, ... würde es... überflüssig seyn, von Neuem weitläufig zu reden, wenn der Anzeigende der Sache nicht gerade eine neue Absicht abgewinnt, die der Kunst Nutzen bringt."

³¹ *AmZ* XXXII (July 1830): col. 487-89: "Denn soll etwas damit gewonnen werden: so müsste man zuvor genau vom Geiste jedes einzelnen Ganzen wiederholt gehandelt, dann Altes und Neues in Notenbeispielen einander gegenübergestellt und Beydes gewürdigt werden. Welchen Raum müsste das einnehmen! Wäre es endlich durchgeführt, so müssten wir uns doch selbst gestehen, dass unser Weg ein Umweg wäre."

The musical score is presented in five systems, each containing five staves. The key signature is G major (one sharp). The notation includes various rhythmic values, with a focus on triplets and sixteenth-note passages. Dynamic markings are placed throughout the score to indicate changes in volume and articulation.

- System 1 (Measures 59-64):** Features a complex melodic line in the first staff with many triplets. Dynamic markings include *molto f* and *f*.
- System 2 (Measures 65-70):** Continues the melodic development. Dynamic markings include *molto f* and *f*.
- System 3 (Measures 71-76):** Shows a more rhythmic section with many triplets. Dynamic markings include *f*, *cres.*, *ff*, and *coupe*.
- System 4 (Measures 77-82):** Features a section with *dim.* (diminuendo) markings in the lower staves, followed by *f* and *ff*.
- System 5 (Measures 83-88):** Concludes the section with *ff* and *coupe* markings.

Example 28a: G. Onslow. Quintet Op.1 No.1 (i).1807. End of exposition

Example 28a (continued)

82

82

88

1. pour recommencer la Reprise

2. pour continuer

88

94

sotto voce

94

99

99

7

5101

Example 28b: G. Onslow. Quintet Op.1 No.1, (i), Beginning of Development (1830)

8

musical score for the opera *L'Espresso* by Giuseppe Verdi. The score is written for piano and voice, featuring a complex arrangement of staves and musical notation. The lyrics are in Italian, and the music includes various dynamic markings and performance instructions.

The score is divided into three systems, each containing five staves. The first system shows the piano introduction with a key signature of two flats and a 4/4 time signature. The second system introduces the vocal part with the lyrics "sempre più" and "crescendo". The third system continues the vocal part with the lyrics "sempre più" and "cres", and includes a piano part with a key signature change to one flat and a 4/4 time signature.

Key musical elements include:

- Dynamic markings:** *ff* (fortissimo), *f* (forte), *cres* (crescendo), *risoluto* (resolute).
- Performance instructions:** *sempre più* (always more), *crescendo*, *risoluto*.
- Key signature and Time Signature:** Two flats, 4/4.
- Lyrics:** *sempre più*, *crescendo*, *cres*, *risoluto*.

The score is a high-quality reproduction of the original manuscript, showing the intricate details of the musical notation and the vocal line.

[illegible]

As the review is about to reveal, the more common and useful way to assess a composition is, in fact, the communal act of playing the piece:

When it comes to such popular works as these, which many people possess and which in their old version gave much delight to a great many lovers of art, we must assume that they are all impatiently awaiting the changes administered by such a thoughtful artist. Hence, the easiest and best way is the following: take first a number from the old edition and play through it. In immediate succession play the same number in its new arrangement (Bearbeitung), hereby paying attention to the impression it leaves on yourself, and then discuss this with the other lovers of art present. If the opinions vary, one shall repeat the piece in the same manner. In this way one is assured of the most pleasurable hours that will yield great advantages.³²

The reviewer stresses that the easiest and most enjoyable way to compare the two versions of the quintets will always remain the active playing, because this yields a discussion of the differences.³³

Just before concluding his review the reviewer administers a little criticism: Onslow commits errors in his "spelling" – he enharmonically exchanges the notes, thereby confusing the harmonic passage of the music, although he grants that in certain places this enharmonic misspelling might be explained by the melodic conception

³² *AmZ* XXXII (July 1830): col. 487-489: "Bey so beliebten Werken, die sehr Viele besitzen, an deren alter Gestaltung eine grosse Anzahl von Kunstfreunden sich erlabt hat, ist mit Grund vorauszusetzen, dass sie sämmtlich auf die Umänderungen eines so denkenden Künstlers begierig seyn werden. Da ist nun der leichteste und beste Weg folgender: man nehme erst eine Nummer der alten Ausgabe und spiele sie durch. Unmittelbar darauf trage man sich dieselbe Nummer nach der neuen Bearbeitung vor, bemerke an sich selbst den Eindruck und spreche dann darüber mit seinen gegenwärtigen Kunstfreunden. Fallen die Meinungen verschieden aus, so wiederhole man das Stück auf eben angezeigte Weise, und man wird sich sicher auf solche Art sehr genussreiche Stunden bereiten, deren vielfacher Nutzen nicht fehlen kann."

³³ *AmZ* XXXII (July 1830): col. 487-489: "Wir selbst haben die oben angezeigten Werke in Partitur gesetzt, gebührend und mit Freuden durchgesehen. Wer sich diese Mühe machen will, wird auch davon grossen Vortheil ziehen. Das Leichtere und Genussreichere bleibt aber immer unser erster Vorschlag."

of the lines. Nevertheless, these remain curious mistakes to be made by a composer trained in harmony and counterpoint. The reviewer considers this less a mark of the composer's lacking skill than an indication (by implication) of the musical school of which Onslow is part.

The reviewer suggests that Onslow both assessed and composed music from the point of view of playing it, thereby paying greater attention to voice-leading than to large-scale form. He suggests that Onslow "misspelled" the notes in order to make fingering easier:

Did the composer write this in order to facilitate the path of the performers? This would seem more logical in writing for wind instruments than for strings. ... We know that for listeners these things are neither here nor there, and he who enjoys score reading can simply learn a different orthography. It is right and proper, that the *Geist* enlivens, not the letter. And *Geist* is here, a rich one at that, which through clever order, through multiple intricate interweavings knows to turn the small into the large.³⁴

String players today surely would object, arguing that good intonation requires knowledge of the chord to which a single note belongs, a fact that speaks volumes about the relationship of music to text that this reviewer obviously took for granted. For this negligence can only remain undisturbing if the players' priorities lie with the ear over the eye, if the communal sound instantly dominates the individual's view

³⁴ *AmZ* XXXII (July 1830): col. 487-489: "Es ist nämlich die Rechtschreibung in manchen Akkordfolgen. Hätte der Verfasser vielleicht darum so geschrieben, weil er den Vortragenden den Gang zu erleichtern meinte? Für Blasinstrumente würde uns das mehr als für Streichinstrumente einleuchten. ... Wir nennen die Verwechslung der Töne fis und ges, dis und es etc. ... Wir wissen, dass den Hörern solche Dinge ganz gleich sind, und wer Lust hat Partituren zu lesen, kann sich auch schon in eine andere Orthographie finden. Es ist auch ganz richtig, dass der Geist lebendig macht und nicht der Buchstabe. Geist aber ist hier und zwar ein reicher Geist, der durch kluge Ordnung, durch mannigfache und geschickte Verwebung aus Kleinem Grosses zu machen weiss."

of his or her page, so that an enharmonic misspelling is instantly corrected by the ear. The text, then, must have been seen to provide only an indication of the sounding image, not a definitive prescription.

During the following year, in August 1831, the *AmZ* announced another publication of the op.1 quintets, again by Breitkopf & Härtel; here, the quintets were offered together with op. 17, 18 and 19 as a set of six quintets in score format with the promise that the quintets up to and including op.37 were to follow. This new edition promised to be useful in every respect, appearing for the best advantage of the music student, the *Liebhaber* and the collector.³⁵ The *Oeuvres Complètes* parts are largely identical with this score publication – clearly both presented the new, revised version.

3. Pocket Scores: The Correlation between Compositional Styles and Publication Styles

The publication of chamber and instrumental music in score was a fairly recent enterprise. Scores were expensive to produce in print as long as they had to be engraved in copper plates. The advent of lithography, which allowed the increased production of chamber music publications for a bourgeois market, also facilitated the engraving of whole scores for a public market. So far, scores had served mainly as master copies for the copyist and engravers only. In 1803 Ignace Pleyel

³⁵ *AmZ* XXXIII (August 1830): col. 552: "Alle Quartetten und Quintetten dieses gefeyerten Componisten, über dessen Werke in diesen Blättern vielfache ausgeführte Beurtheilungen geliefert worden sind, worauf wir uns beziehen, sollen der Reihe nach bis No.37 (mit) in Paritur erscheinen zum Besten der Musikstudierenden, der Liebhaber und Sammler. Die Ausgabe ist in jeder Hinsicht trefflich. Der Nutzen solcher Meister-Partituren ist zu klar, als dass wir irgend einen Zusatz nöthig hätten."

published the first volume of his *Bibliothèque Musicale*, Haydn's Symphony no.103, to be followed by the symphonies nos.104, 102 and 99. This new enterprise aimed to provide famous works in score format for the wide market of *Kenner und Liebhaber*. Though Pleyel chose a symphony to introduce the new project, his endeavour at large was based on an ideology that was best presented in the publication of thirty Haydn quartets in the same score format, which was designed to be easily transportable. The Haydn quartets appeared in the years 1802-03 together with the four symphonies. From here on only chamber works followed: Mozart's quartets were published between August 1805 and October 1808, his quintets after 1815; in 1828, Pleyel returned to the project with the score publication of Hummel's and Beethoven's septets.

In a review of these publications Fétis suggested that the rationale for the still novel format of these publications lay with the works' exceeding difficulties. He pointed out the advantages for the player:

Beethoven's septet is quite rightly considered one of his most beautiful productions; but the difficulty is to get together artists, each skilled enough on his own instrument to execute it well, and for this reason it is not as well known as it should be. This is why it is a veritable service to the amateurs of music to publish this masterpiece in score, so that anyone can hereafter revel in it as he hears it, and study and analyse with lots of attention, which he would not be able to do in one rapid performance.³⁶

³⁶ "Le septuor de Beethoven est à juste titre considéré comme une de ses plus belles productions; mais la difficulté qu'il y a de réunir des artistes assez habiles sur chaque instrument pour le bien exécuter, fait qu'il n'est pas aussi connu qu'il devrait l'être. C'est donc un véritable service rendu aux amateurs de musique que la publication de ce chef d'œuvre en partition, car chacun pourra désormais en jouir comme s'il l'entendait, et l'analyser avec plus de soin qu'on ne peut le faire dans une

Though this was a valid argument with respect to Beethoven's later chamber music, Fétis' explanation alone could not have accounted for the new publication of Haydn's and Mozart's works in score – their chamber music had long been played successfully without recourse to a score. Similarly, the second explanation he provided, that these scores would aid the study of composition, can't have been the whole story since serious composition students were in the habit of scoring up the works themselves, thereby learning the techniques of composition as much through the act of scoring up as through the later reference to these scores.

Though both of these points were surely valid, Pleyel's publications also betrayed two aspects of a new ideology: firstly, the format of the pocket score clearly targeted not so much the serious composer as the music lover. Pleyel appealed to the bourgeois interest in art ownership; he gambled that the ownership of a *Bibliothèque Musicale* would amount to a cultural and social status symbol. Both his choice of pieces and the size of the series bore witness to the new incentive of owning printed music. Particularly the former would distinguished the collection from earlier serial prints such as the *Symphonie* or *Overture periodique* in France or Hofmann's subscription series in Vienna, for which Mozart wrote his quintets K 515, 516 and 406. Whereas these series fulfilled the purpose of bringing the ever new, the latest in musical fashion to the paying audience, the *Bibliothèque musicale* aimed to archive and chronicle the "truly great"

exécution rapide." Rita Benton, "Pleyel's Bibliothèque Musicale," *The Music Review* XXXVI/1 (Feb. 1975): 1-4, at 1.

in music.³⁷ The announcement of Onslow's quintets op.23 and op.24 in the series (now published by Richault, no longer by Pleyel) suggested that the attraction of the *Bibliothèque* lay in fact in a type of ownership, more than in the idea that the players were in need of a score in order to perform these works sensibly:

These remarkable works (op.23 and op.24), which the amateurs have heard with much pleasure in a number of musical salons, form volumes 19 and 20 of the beautiful collection published by MM. J. Pleyel and company under the title *Bibliothèque musicale*.³⁸

My conjecture that Pleyel's score project was indicative of more than simply the increasing difficulty of chamber music or the decreasing ability of the amateur musician is strengthened by the fact that orchestral and choral music was added to the list of miniature score publications. The new project, I contend, was aimed not so much at the study of composition as at the understanding of music and the dictation of style and taste. The score facilitated a solitary play-through at the piano, or even the silent reading of these works, something that

³⁷ The emergence of a number of musical rental libraries in several western European countries during the late eighteenth century proves that chamber music was very much an endeavour for entertainment and a few weeks' possession of the parts was plenty; one could then move on to the next set of latest pieces. See also Chapter 2 here.

³⁸ *Revue musicale* VI (1830), at 239: "Ces ouvrages (Op. 23 et Op. 24) remarquable, que les amateurs ont entendus avec beaucoup de plaisir dans diverses soirées et matinées musicales, forment les volumes 19 et 20 de la belle collection publiée par MM. J. Pleyel et compagnie, sous le titre de *Bibliothèque musicale*." See also Rita Benton, "Pleyel's Bibliothèque Musicale" and Cecil Hopkinson, "The Earliest Miniature Scores," *The Music Review* XXXIII (May 1972): 138-144. Hopkinson also discusses the next miniature score project by Heckel, who prefaced all volumes with thematic catalogue indices. This was the next stage in the scientific chronicling of the works and started in the 1840s. His project focused very much on the triumvirate of great composers: Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven and he published not just their larger chamber music but also trios and duets.

was entirely impossible when the work existed in part-books only. The score, therefore, made the solitary interaction with the music possible and thereby forewent the artistic function of communal exegesis. The idea of a "pocket" publication might have been inspired by the numerous literary commodities, so-called "Taschenbücher,"³⁹ combining theoretical articles, poems and extracts from plays inside a miniature cover, which could be slipped into the pocket to be read at leisure either at home or at social events. Hence, they either replaced company and sociability or they presented a source for conversation within society. Increasingly, however, those publications, priding themselves on the representation of the latest thoughts in a certain field such as music, published articles of a complexity that inspired solitary engagement with it rather than casual discussion. Journals such as the *AmZ* undoubtedly set out to shape taste through dictating thought.⁴⁰ Similarly, Pleyel's *Bibliothèque Musicale* was a conscious step in the canonisation of musical works and the education of taste. Taste, then, was no longer understood to be each individual's a priori facility for judgement, but rather a set of fixed codes.

Here, three historical and sociological aspects went hand in hand. An increasing self-definition of the bourgeois classes via their cultural vocabulary was wedded to a change in compositional style, which in turn was intrinsically linked to fundamental changes in the consensus over meaning in music. I will unpack the last point first. Gradually, over the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, the

³⁹ See Chapter 3.

⁴⁰ Mary Sue Morrow, *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

meaning of music shifted from the performance as the manifestation of the work to the text as its ultimate and only truthful manifestation; likewise, the experience of music shifted from a communal exegesis of meaning to the solitary contemplation of its definitive, pre-given meaning. As such, pieces of music now needed to be sufficiently rehearsed in order to be understood, and players had to be increasingly proficient. Onslow's quartet op.37, according to one reviewer, would only be performed properly by "men who have studied these works." This, so the reviewer asserted, was the duty of the professional musician, but not of the audience:

Only in these few places - except where there are men who have studied them: but this is not the duty of listeners, not even of the educated ones - is this music entirely understood, entirely honoured and entirely enjoyed.⁴¹

The same review claimed that the new unity of the work demands not only a virtuosic player but a noble artist; further, the players must be in total unanimity with each other at the time of performance:

The tightly woven fabric of the whole will pour out as one and will sweep you away, if it is performed as it should be. This kind of performance ... needs not so much virtuosi, although the Finale in particular is sufficiently difficult, but it demands artists in the most noble and distinguished sense of the word; and even these must have practised together to achieve the most perfect agreement.⁴²

⁴¹ *AmZ* XXXII (10.3.1830): col. 152: "So kann diese seine Quartettmusik auch nur an diesen wenigen Orten – ausser von Männern, welche sie studieren: was aber nicht die Sache der Zuhörer, auch der gebildeten seyn kann – vollkommen verstanden, vollkommen gewürdigt, vollkommen genossen werden."

⁴² *AmZ* XXXII (10.3.1830): col. 154: "Das aufs Allerengste verbundene Ganze strömt in Einem Gusse hin und reisst mit fort – wird es nämlich, wie es soll, aufgeführt. Zu solcher Aufführung aber, nicht nur des letzten, sondern eines jeden dieser Sätze werden – nicht sowohl Virtuosen, obschon, besonders das Finale auch nicht wenig

Here a separation of rehearsal and performance is clearly implied; it is seen as necessary not simply to play the piece, but to do it justice. The piece was no longer about the communal working out in front of, or with, an audience. Rather, audience and players are split and the exegesis of the work is achieved not through the interaction of the performers with each other, but through the interaction of each individual with the compositional web prior to the playing process. Further, the review illustrates that the understanding of music has shifted from the outside to the inside of the piece. Tempo and execution are no longer determined by occasion, exchange and other performative factors, but rather by the proper understanding of a pre-given meaning that resides in the work itself:

If it is understood well by all five players and if it is performed according to this understanding, the piece impresses in an earnest, yet marvellous manner thanks to its steadily glimmering more than heatedly burning fire, and thanks to its passages of flowing cascades now breaking forth forcefully, now flowing gently. (We warn the leader of the five not to take this Allegro faster than the metronome marking indicates; if he is unsure of the utmost understanding of his colleagues he must even take it a little steadier).⁴³

Schwieriges bietet, wohl aber der Künstler im edlen und (will man so sagen) im vornehmsten Sinne des Worts verlangt; selbst auch diese müssen sich zur vollkommendsten Uebereinstimmung mit einander eingeübt haben, und anbequemen."

⁴³ "Recensionen: Quatuorsième Quintetto pour deux Violons, alto et deux violoncelles. Oeuvr. 37 à Leipsic, chez B&H, à Paris, chez Pleyel & Co." *AmZ* XXXII (28.7.1830): 481-483, 482 : "Das Stück, von allen fünf Spielern wohlverstanden, und diesem Verständnisse gemäß ausgeführt, macht, - in seinem mehr unter sich hin brennenden, als aufflammenden Feuer und mit dem ihm hin und wieder beygemischten, bald stark hervorbrechenden, bald sanft hinfließenden Stellen – eine ernste, wunderbar rührende Wirkung. (Wir warnen dabey den Anführer der Fünf, diess Allegro ja nicht schneller zu nehmen als nach dem Metronom angegeben ist, und wenn dieser Anführer jenes vollkommenen Verständnisses bey seinen Gefährten nicht sicher ist, lieber noch ein wenig langsamer)." The reviewer continues, at 483: "Dass das Werk nicht etwas von sehr geschickten Musikern nur frischweg abgespielt, sondern dass es selbst von den geschicktesten seinem ganzen Geiste und Sinne, aber

In line with the new aesthetic and social meaning, the nature of the compositional web had changed considerably. A good composition relied on the relationship of parts and whole, of material and structure. The overall form emanated from the material; expression arose from this integration. Onslow's earlier works had received criticism for an overburdening of the music with detail that distracts from, rather than adds to, the overall meaning. The above-cited review states clearly that the *Empfindung*, i.e. the overall sensation of a movement might easily be disturbed by the intrusion of extroverted detail:

Each single moment betrayed – in relation to the whole of the movement and to the effect of this whole – too much elaboration of individual ideas or too artistically wrought single, albeit essential ideas, which is why the attention was drawn too much on to the individual and thus made grasping the whole difficult, whilst also belittling the whole; the senses were disturbed and thrown into confusion.⁴⁴

The reviewer considered this a problem in most of Onslow's chamber works before op.37. Indeed, the early quintets - not just op.1 but also op. 23 and op.25 - were suffused with a linear, horizontal conception, in which the instruments take solo material in turn, in the manner of the popular quatuor concertante. Effectively, the listener is guided from one voice to the next, following the course of the music like a

auch seiner inner melodischen Struktur nach, studirt seyn will – mag das nun durch öfters Einüben mit denselben Mitgliedern oder dadurch geschehen, dass man sich's in Partitur setzt und hierdurch vertrauter damit wird, wobey übrigens ein Jeder, wer er auch sey, noch vieles Andere würde lernen können."

⁴⁴ *AmZ* XXXII (28.7.1830):481-483, 481: "Jeder einzige Punkt ... betraf das, im Verhältnisse zum Ganzen der Sätze und zu ihrem Effecte im Ganzen, nicht selten zu weit Ausgesponnene oder zu künstlich ausgearbeitete einzelner und zwar wesentlicher Ideen, wodurch die Aufmerksamkeit zu sehr zu dem Einzelnen hingezogen, mithin sie für das Ganze erschwert oder gemindert, die Empfindung gewissermaßen irre gemacht und gestört würde."

tennis match with fast and tricky exchanges, quick stops and starts, virtuosic and beautiful manoeuvres; however, he is not inspired to contemplate the nature and meaning of the match at large. The reviewer of op.37 criticised this feature of the early quintets as a misguidance of the listener's attention. Whereas Onslow's chamber music in the past had been overshadowed by this imbalance of whole and parts, in his quintet op.37 he had largely eradicated the issue:

If we could claim in the past that this idiom of the artful master was far less pronounced in the last three works, we can continue to report now that it is altogether absent in this latest work; still, none of the diligence, consequence and immaculate care in the elaboration of each detail has been sacrificed.⁴⁵

The *Collection Complète* version of op.1 bowed to this critique with a new, rectified integration of whole and parts. The cut secondary theme – that was not allied to the arrival of the relative major harmony – was treated canonically in its primary appearance due to its insufficient motivic content. Far less substantial than the first theme in providing material for development, for segregation and new growth, this theme lost its relevance. Using the triplet "playing" figuration as a secondary theme instead meant - as we have seen - that there is no real second theme and that the movement grows from the first theme entirely. More importantly, the "playing" figure that could once entice the individual player into self-display with virtuosic and rhythmically

⁴⁵ *AmZ* XXXII (28.7.1830): 481-483, 482: "Konnten wir dort schon behaupten, diese Eigenheit des kunstreichen Meisters zeige sich in jenen drei Werken weit weniger als früher: so können wir hier bey diesem neuesten Werke fortfahren, sie finde hier gar nicht mehr statt, ohne dass darüber auf entgegengesetzter Seite die Gründlichkeit, Consequenz und beharrlichste Sorgsamkeit in der Ausarbeitung im Geringsten gelitten hätte."

free cascades, in the new version is not only bound by, but itself provides the strict rhythmic pulse: here it is passed between players from one bar to the next, which does not permit the same freedom; the virtuosic figure, then, offers far less scope for the individual to break away from the group for a moment of soloistic showmanship.

The new compositional integration went hand-in-hand with the aforementioned change in performing concept: this, again, was described in the *AmZ* review of op.37:

The work can't simply be played *prima vista* by dexterous musicians; rather even the most advanced musician must study it with regard to its full *Geist* and meaning, but also with regard to its melodic structure. This may be done by repeatedly playing it with the same people, but if one achieves it instead by setting it in score and hereby making oneself intimately acquainted with it, one is sure to learn a great number of things from it.⁴⁶

The music needed to be accessed differently: No longer could this music be played in a random get-together of musical amateurs, but its "spirit and sense" demanded preparation from the players that preceded the performance, in order to present the true meaning. This entails both a conceptual and practical separation between performer and listener, and a distinction in function between rehearsal and performance. Whereas the rehearsal served to form a consensus of the players' ideas, the performance presented to the listener a unified meaning that is ideally free of tension, competition and argument.

⁴⁶ *AmZ* XXXII (28.7.1830): 481-483, 483: "Dass das Werk nicht etwa von sehr geschickten Musikern nur frischweg abgespielt, sondern dass es selbst von den geschicktesten seinem ganzen Geiste und Sinne, aber auch seiner inner melodischen Struktur nach, studirt sey woll – mag das nun durch öfters Einüben mit denselben Mitgliedern oder dadurch geschehen, dass man sich's in Partitur setzt und hierdurch vertrauter damit wird, wobey übrigens ein Jeder, wer er auch sey, noch vieles Andere würde lernen können."

The review betrays a belief in a fixed meaning that is independent of the players themselves and resides, rather, in the music prior to the players' engagement with it. This shifts an entirely new responsibility onto the notation, for which presentation in score was invaluable. The score allows for solitary study and analysis, i.e. for a one-man performance of the music. As we will see, the *Ausarbeitung* – the elaboration of the piece in performance – is here replaced with *Ausführung*.

4. Performance and the Act of Composition in Music Theory Around 1800

Onslow first received proper instruction in composition from Antoine Reicha, the Czech composer and teacher who had settled in Paris in 1808. Reicha himself had studied with Albrechtsberger in Vienna and was strongly influenced by the works of his acquaintances there, particularly Haydn and Beethoven. In fact, Reicha set out increasingly to teach composition by emulation of these models. Albrechtsberger's teaching, as transmitted to us through his student Ignaz von Seyfried's compilation in the *Methods of Harmony, Figured Bass and Composition* – published, albeit, in Albrechtsberger's name – was dominated by a practical and empirical approach to figured bass as the fundament for all composition.⁴⁷ Albrechtsberger's method presents examples which are systematically transposed through all keys in order to teach the ear

⁴⁷ J.G. Albrechtsberger's *sämmtliche Schriften über Generalbass, Harmonie-Lehre, und Tonsetzkunst*, ed. Ignaz von Seyfried (Vienna, 1826, 2/1837/R; Fr. trans., 1830 as *Méthodes d'harmonie et de composition*; Eng. trans., 1834, 2/1844, as *Methods of Harmony, Figured Base, and Composition*).

the right sounds until these become intuitive. Only once this intuition is established does the student progress to the study of composition. Albrechtsberger's study of composition still relied on Fux's methods of two-, three- and four-part counterpoint. In his own treatises on composition, Reicha departed fundamentally from this approach. Following two philosophical works on the nature of music, his *Treatise on Melody* was the first of three composition treatises.⁴⁸ Here, Reicha presented a systematic study of melody, the element of a composition that other writers commonly left to the invention of the genius and its assessment to taste.⁴⁹ By considering melody as the formative element of a composition Reicha had to extend his theories to comprise the study of form as essential to the meaning of music. Assuming that the essential musical idea, from which all other elements of the composition springs, is encoded in the melody, Reicha segregated melodies into its subsections such as motifs and *idées mélodiques*, and described their structures and relationships. His system, then, was a teaching method based on the analysis of pieces rather than the construction of examples, a fundamental departure from the systematic constructionist method of the figured bass approach. His examples, albeit unlabelled and largely stripped of accompaniment, were taken from the operatic music of Gluck, Cimarosa, Piccini, Sarti

⁴⁸ The *Treatise on Melody* was preceded by *Practische Beyspiele: ein Beitrag zur Geisteskultur der Tonsetzer... begleitet mit philosophisch-practischen Anmerkungen* (Vienna, 1803) and *Sur la musique come art purement sentimental*. (before 1814). Following these treatises, he also wrote his *Cours de composition musicale, ou Traité complet et raisonné d'harmonie pratique* (Paris, 1816-18) and his *Traité de haute composition musicale* (Paris, 1824-6).

⁴⁹ Heinrich Christoph Koch, for instance, provides a treatise on melody only in the second volume of his *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* (Rudolstadt and Leipzig, 1782-93).

and Grètry, alongside instrumental works by Mozart and Haydn. In stripping these musical examples of their accompaniment Reicha replaced the harmonic unification of a composition with a motivic-thematic coherence, which stems from the musical idea and dictates all elements of the composition. The musical idea, which infuses each element of the composition, grants coherence as the composition's *Geist*.

The idea of an inspiration that infuses the artist throughout the entire creative process was prominent already in Sulzer's *Theorie der Schönen Künste*. However, Sulzer's *Theorie* would never have been written had he been content with the mere phenomenon of such sensations. After all, Sulzer set out to define rationally the phenomenon of an artistic inspiration, a *Begeisterung*, with recourse to *Auffassung*, i.e. empirical, sensational perception. In the following I will examine this aspect of Sulzer's *Theorie* and align it with treatises on composition to trace the significance of *Begeisterung* in the compositional process. The location of *Geist* in the compositional process will clarify the shift from an interactive ideal of chamber music to a contemplative one.

In the *Allgemeine Theorie* Kirnberger described the compositional process as taking place in three stages: *Anlage*, *Ausführung* and *Ausarbeitung*. In his *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* Heinrich Christoph Koch adopted these three categories: in a large graph of Graun's Cantata *Der Tod Jesu* (Vol.II, 59-64) he illustrated that the *Anlage* is the first conception of a piece of music, or what he also called its *einfache Harmonie*, which is not the accompanying harmonies, but

rather a) the thematic material, b) its larger order and c) an idea of its linkages.⁵⁰ Through *Ausführung* these initial denominators, this raw material, is turned into a formal structure proper, whereas the *Ausarbeitung* deals with the nitty-gritty, the surface detail (Figure 3).⁵¹

In Koch's model, *Begeisterung* is confined to the first stage of compositional process only: the *Anlage* needs to be infused by one unified *Geist*, whereas the other two stages call on intellectual faculties; the three correspond to his explanation of genius, talent and skill as needed for the process of composition. The latter two stages are guided by taste and *Kunstgefühl*; both of these in turn are learned through exposure to masterful pieces i.e. by playing and listening and, in case of the composer, also by the study (scoring up) of model pieces.

Kirnberger accounted for two types of *Begeisterung* that were distinguished by their origin. On the one hand he spoke of the "Enthusiasmus des Herzens," which is induced by an object that remains unclear in its particulars, but that has powerful repercussions on the soul:

If this object is unclear, so that our imagination can't see it clearly, then the sensation of its effects is more lively than our knowledge of its design (*Beschaffenheit*) ... all attention is focused on the sensation, all powers of our soul unite to the most lively feeling.⁵²

⁵⁰ Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, 3 Vols. (Rudolfstadt, 1782, Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Böhme, 1787 and 1793), vol. II: 51-69.

⁵¹ Ian Bent, "The Compositional Process in Music Theory 1713-1850, *Music Analysis*. 3/1 (March 1984): 29-55.

⁵² Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, I:350, §"Begeisterung": "Ist dieser Gegenstand undeutlich, daß die Vorstellungskraft wenig darin entwickeln kann; ist das Gefühl seiner Wirkung lebhafter, als die Kenntniß seiner Beschaffenheit, von welcher Art die Gegenstände der gemeinsten Leidenschaften sind: so wird alle Aufmerksamkeit auf die Empfindung gerichtet, die ganze Kraft der Seele vereinigt sich zu dem lebhaftesten Gefühl."

The other type is caused by the grandeur of a particular object that inspires the perceiver to recreate its beauty first in his imagination and then in art:

If, however, the object reveals itself with clarity, so that the *Geist* can perceive its manifold elements, then our imagination is inspired along with our sensation; both focus equally on the object. Reason and imagination compete to grasp it with the utmost clarity and precision.⁵³

This is the "Begeisterung des Genies." Whereas one type manifests itself in our emotions, the other is played out in the realm of the imagination. Both types are creative as well as effective, i.e. they assist the artist, who has reason (*Verstand*) and talent, in the conception of his art, but they are also states induced in the perceiver of great art. Herein they function on two different levels: whereas the enthusiasm of the heart does not permit the rationalisation of the sensation, but merely transfers it from one person to another, the enthusiasm of the genius creates a new object that in and of itself can incite the state of *Begeisterung*.⁵⁴ In essence, what Kirnberger described here are two

⁵³ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, I:350, § "Begeisterung": "Zeigt sich aber der Gegenstand, der den starken Eindruck gemacht hat, in einer hellen Gestalt, die der Geist in ihren mannigfaltigen Theilen übersehen kann, so wird mit der Empfindung auch die Vorstellungskraft gereizt, und mit der Gewalt auf den Gegenstand geheftet; Verstand und Einbildungskraft bestreben sich, denselben völlig und mit der größten Deutlichkeit und Lebhaftigkeit zu fassen."

⁵⁴ As such, the artist can set himself into this vital state by reading certain poetry or contemplating certain poems. Hereby, he has to choose carefully the right poem for the state of mind that he desires. Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, I: 678, § "Instrumentalmusik": "... der Tonsetzer (thut) wol, wenn er sich allemal den Charakter einer Person, oder eine Situation, eine Leidenschaft, bestimmt vorstellt, und seine Phantasie so lang anspannt, bis er eine in diesen Umständen sich befindende Person glaubt reden zu hören. Er kann sich dadurch behelfen, daß er pathetische, feurige, oder sanfte, zärtliche Stellen, aus Dichtern aussucht und in einem sich dazu schickenden Ton declamiert, und alsdenn in dieser Empfindung sein Tonstück entwirft."

processes of creation: one by imitation, the other by expression. The latter is classified by becoming its own object. In his explanation of the compositional process, Koch rationalised this creation of an entirely new object; he explained in rational terms the formation of an artistic object that in and of itself is effective, rather than being effective by mimicking another object. In order to control, i.e. to rationalise this type of creation, Koch had to work from the outside in: the material disposition is born from the invention, but is already wedded to a certain form (see Figure 3).

Reicha equally stressed the important interplay of intellect and sentiment, of *Geist* and construction. Yet the interaction of one's creativity with the rational construction in his model is a different one: in contrast to Koch, Reicha worked from the inside out, not from the outside in. The picture for him did not arise from the concentration on the form until the details become obvious (as Kirnberger had described), but the concentration on the detail would generate the large form.

KOCH				REICHA			
Creativity	Anlage ↓	Geist	Composer	Invention	Material ↓	Geist	Composer
Rational faculties	Ausführung ↓	Talent	Composer	Geschmack und Kunstgefühl	Structure ↑		
	Ausarbeitung	Skill	Composer and performer		Material elaboration	Geist	Composer

Figure 3a: Graph I – The Compositional Process

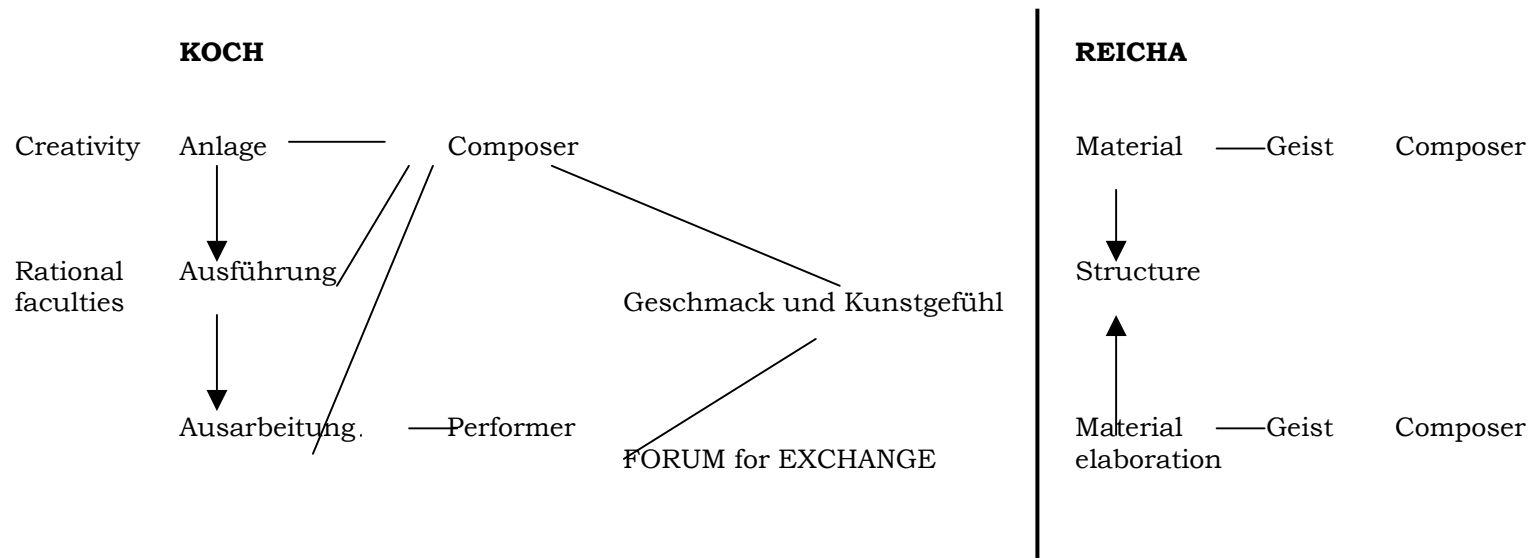


Figure 3b: Graph II – The Compositional Process

Reicha's inspiration focused on the collection of ideas, themes, and melodic cells. In order to express *Geist*, he claimed, one needs to turn to its smallest element, its core – the character-giving melody – and understand its potential. His treatises on composition are based on three component parts: his reflection on the "art of composition," i.e. the question of what is a composition, the "proper method of teaching it," i.e. how to transmit a system for creativity, and thirdly, "the great facility of abusing its possibilities."⁵⁵ The final element sheds light on the second: in place of systems for the formulaic production of music, such as Kirnberger's *Sonaten aus dem Ermel schüddeln*, Reicha suggested an analytical method that permits a truly new and therefore original construction. Reicha reported in his autobiography:

The number of works I finished in Vienna is astonishing. Once started, my verve and imagination were indefatigable. ... When writing in an original vein, my creative faculties seemed keener than when following the precepts of my predecessors.⁵⁶

The teaching of originality can only function via an analytical mind as creativity is no longer the study of exemplaries, but rather the analysis of these models and the re-combination of elements.

In Reicha's model, invention, talent and skill – Koch's three faculties – take on different roles: the composer's technical abilities are used firstly to inspire the mind into the creative process. This is similar to Kirnberger, who suggested that to induce the right state of mind one

⁵⁵ Anton Reicha, *Treatise on Melody*, trans. Peter M. Landey, ed. Thomas Christensen (New York: Pendragon Press, 2000), 343.

⁵⁶ J.G. Prod'Homme, "From the Unpublished Autobiography of Antoine Reicha," *Musical Quarterly* XXII (1936), 347.

may contemplate a painting or a poem, except that, for Reicha, inspiration is encouraged by the writing of fugues:

It was my custom, when starting to write again after a long interval, to compose several fugues which put me in form for any other work I wished to do.⁵⁷

Secondly, technical skills are needed to re-assemble what the theorist has taken apart. Inspiration is fuelled by analysis, and skill merely guides this inspiration (see Figure 3b).

Reicha described the interaction of sentiment and imagination as essential to the compositional process.⁵⁸ If imagination is *Geist*, then sentiment is what Koch described as taste and *Kunstgefühl*. Whereas these, in Koch's compositional process, resulted from the emulation of models, in Reicha the sentiment is mediated by a new idea: the idea that the material itself will give rise to ever new assemblages, i.e. to ever new forms, and with these, ever new meanings will arise. *Ausführung* und *Ausarbeitung* are no longer the elaboration of a given form, but they become a process of delving ever deeper into the material in order to explore and exploit its *Geist*.

Reicha's approach has two vital repercussions, which go a long way towards explaining Onslow's revisions to his quintet op.1 after his studies with Reicha. Firstly, his approach focuses on a text that can be analysed: for him music is composition, not performance. Interaction and integration happen between the individual and the work; as such his process relies on text, not performance. As a result the performer is

⁵⁷ Prod'homme, "Autobiography of Antoine Reicha," 347.

⁵⁸ Prod'homme, "Autobiography of Antoine Reicha," 343: "Sentiment and imagination played an active part in my creative work, and to my way of thinking, the only worth while people are those who possess both of these qualities."

relegated to a place outside of the music rather than being intrinsic to its meaning. Reicha stressed in his autobiography that he did not waste time seeking out performers to perform his music:

Many of my works have never been heard because of my aversion to seeking performances. I counted the time spent in such efforts as lost, and preferred to remain at my desk.⁵⁹

He claimed to work for art and outside of the world of the musical dilettante, which is in stark contrast to Koch, who acknowledged the role and power of the performer:

The composer must leave his work to the discretion of the performers (plural!), of whom any one - out of a lack of taste, a false judgement of this or that idea, sometimes even out of spite - can spoil a piece's *Geist*, which is so necessary to its true presentation. The composer can only achieve the final aim of his art if, in performance of his works, their *Geist* is represented.⁶⁰

For Koch, a performance had its own spirit, that needed to be matched with the *Geist* of the composition. Reicha, on the other hand, denied an independent *Geist* in the performance; rather the performer must have "profound sensibility, perfect schooling and a well-trained, refined, and delicate ear" in order to *realise* the *Geist* of the composition.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Prod'homme, "Autobiography of Antoine Reicha," 348: This statement must be taken with a pinch of salt in light of the popularity that his wind quintets held. Reicha himself reported the popularity his string quintets enjoyed in Vienna. In his wind quintets he claimed to be the first to explore the new potential of the recent generation of wind instrument virtuosi.

⁶⁰ Koch, *Versuch*, II: 26-27: "(Der Tonsetzer) muß sein Werk der Discretion der Aufführer überlassen, von denen schon ein einziger aus Mangel am Geschmack, aus unrichtiger Beurtheilung dieses oder jenes Gedankens, zuweilen wohl auch aus Bosheit den Geist des Stückes verscheuchen kann, der doch zur wahren Darstellung desselben unumgänglich nothwendig ist. Der Tonsetzer kann also nur alsdann erst den Endzweck seiner Kunst erreichen, wenn bey der Ausführung seiner Werke auch der Geist derselben dargestellt wird."

⁶¹ Koch, *Versuch*, II: 65.

Wedded to this discrepancy between Koch's and Reicha's status of the performance is the definition of taste: in Koch's model, taste and judgement, what he calls *Kunstgefühl*, are socially defined, for only if the performer and composer share the same space, the same musical vernacular, is it possible for their judgements on pieces of music to coincide. Meaning lies not in the compositional integration alone, but rather in the exchange and dialectic between the invention, the composer's elaboration of this invention and the performer's reading of these two (see Figure 3b).⁶²

Kirnberger's description of the "ingenious enthusiasm" already accounted for an artistic creation that excluded this social forum: the ingenuitous enthusiasm, he explained, can create such a powerful image in the mind of the artist that it induces an almost spiritual experience for the artist himself. Here, the mediation of reason and sensation happens in solitary fashion as a communication between the individual and the object without recourse to communal experience, whether immediate or received:

One sees one's object in an unusual light; in it one discovers things that one has never seen before; what one has for so long desired to see, suddenly appears effortlessly and one is inclined to believe that a merciful higher being has sharpened our senses

⁶² Because Koch relied on this interaction and negotiation, he still considered instrumental music problematic, see Koch, *Versuch*, II:30: "sie ist nicht im Stande uns die Ursachen bekannt zu machen, warum diese oder jene Empfindung erregt, warum wir von einer Empfindung zur anderen geleitet werden. diese ohne Beziehung (zu etwas rationalem: erregt sie nicht Freude bey einer freudigen, oder Betrübniß bey einer traurigen Veranlassung, so ist diese von ihr erregte Freude oder traurigkeit ohne Absicht, sie interessiert unser Herz sehr wenig, weil wir nicht einsehen, warum man uns vergnügt oder traurig machen will.) vorhandene Empfindungen können in uns keine edlen Entschlüsse hervorbringen, können nicht auf die Bildung unsers Herzens wirken."

or has placed the desired object into our imagination with his supernatural powers.⁶³

In true enlightenment spirit Kirnberger sought to explain this spiritual experience with the powers of concentration.⁶⁴ In an aside, however, he confessed the possible necessity for these powers of belief, i.e. for this spiritual experience, in order to create great art:

We must not deprive the artist of that fortunate aberration that a higher power is assisting him.⁶⁵

Reicha subscribed to this fortunate aberration as essential to the process of composition. He boasted that composition is a strenuous process of the utmost concentration. Exercising his rational faculties was vital in training himself towards the necessary concentration. He reported that

literature became a passion, but especially the abstract sciences. Algebra and the philosophy of Kant were of most interest to me. I made great progress in solving algebraic problems, which was to be of great service to me later in gaining insight into my art.⁶⁶

also claiming that

⁶³ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, I:353, § "Begeisterung": "Nun sieht man seinen Gegenstand in einem ungewöhnlichen Lichte; man sieht in ihm Dinge, die man noch nie gesehen; was man schon so lange zu sehen gewünscht, erscheint itzt ohne Anstrengung; man ist geneigt zu glauben, ein wohlthätiges Wesen von höherer Art habe unsre Sinnen geschärft, oder habe auf eine übernatürliche Weise den gewünschten Gegenstand vor unsre Einbildungskraft gestellt."

⁶⁴ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, I:353, § "Begeisterung": "Bey der unaufhörlichen Anstrengung der Vorstellungskräfte auf einen einzigen Gegenstand geschieht es wol,..., dass ein ungewöhnlich heller Gedanken davon hervorkommt. Die große Begierde, mit der man den Gegenstand schon so lange in einem hellern Lichte zu sehen gewünscht, wird nun plötzlich auf das lebhafteste gereizt; nun werden alle Nerven gespannt; die Aufmerksamkeit wird jedem andern Gegenstande entzogen; alle Vorstellungen, die nicht mit der einzigen interessanten verbunden sind, sinken in die Dunkelheit."

⁶⁵ Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, I:353, § "Begeisterung": "Wir wollen den Künstlern den glücklichen Wahn, von dem Beystand einer höhern Kraft nicht benehmen."

⁶⁶ Prod'homme, "Autobiography of Antoine Reicha," 342.

to relax mentally after my strenuous musical work, I read books on mathematics, physics astronomy and philosophy.⁶⁷

Yet the process was a wholly solitary one, as Reicha shut himself off from the social forum of taste and judgement:

I have become indifferent to all praise and criticism, being sufficiently rewarded when I instinctively feel I have achieved something worth while.⁶⁸

Reicha denied the performer responsibility for the meaning of a piece of music; instead he proposed the existence of universally pleasing patterns:

When something in the fine arts is almost universally pleasing, it must have some worth. To understand this kind of worth is not without interest for the art. To reject such a thing without examination is as foolish as to accept it without question.⁶⁹

Reicha left behind the idea that other arts can inspire the right sentiment for music; instead patterns, structures and forms are infused with a higher order, and it is that higher order that induces the proper pleasure in us.⁷⁰ For Reicha *Geist* resides in a higher artistic nature.

⁶⁷ Prod'homme. "Autobiography of Antoine Reicha," 342.

⁶⁸ Prod'homme, "Autobiography of Antoine Reicha," 343.

⁶⁹ Reicha, *Treatise on Melody*, 67.

⁷⁰ Only the proper pleasure is the one that assists our moral education and Bildung, see Prod'homme, "Autobiography of Antoine Reicha," 350: "I have never been interested in writing for popular demand. To instruct the public has been my aim; not to amuse it."

5. The Elevation of Art above Nature

The *Wiener Theater-Almanach für das Jahr 1795* published an article that compares and contrasts the different natures of theatrical drama, novel and history. According to the essayist, only the novel presents truth, because the novel can expose not only effects but simultaneously and comprehensively all their causes:

The relationship of the novel to history is easy to determine if one takes as the basis for their distinction the philosophical truth of each one. The novel is true, but history is problematic. In the novel the causes of all events are shown. Its path is philosophical.⁷¹

Whereas in history events can often appear random, because their causal relationship will only become clear long after they have passed (or might, in fact, remain forever hidden), in the novel, characters and their individual facets are determined by the same source (the author) and all action, conversation and conduct arises from them: "alles strahlt gegen das einzige Centrum".⁷² This description is not dissimilar to Reicha's ideas of an overarching *Geist* that is manifest in each element of the composition. All form springs from the thematic material, so that the entire piece presents an intricate web of explications of the same few material cells; the themes are the characters of the novel that are illuminated through different lenses, but no event occurs that is unrelated to, or unmediated by, these characters. Variety and contrast are thus achieved in the novel by

⁷¹ "Versuch über das Verhältnis des Romans zum Drama" in *Wiener Theateralmanach auf das Jahr 1795* (Wien: Kurzbeckische Buchhandlung. 1795): 108-126, 108: "Das Verhältnis des Romans zur Geschichte ist leicht zu bestimmen, wenn man die philosophische Wahrheit als Unterscheidungscharakter beyder Gattungen annimmt. Der Roman ist wahr, die Geschichte ist problematisch. Im Roman ist die Veranlassung aller Begebenheiten angezeigt. Der Gang ist philosophisch."

⁷² "Versuch über das Verhältnis des Romans zum Drama," 108.

being true to the irregularities of the human soul, in the composition by the juxtaposing characters that are the inherent potential of each theme. The drama in contrast must of necessity omit information, as it is constructed of different characters, and of a multitude of events that must follow each other in unrealistically close proximity in order to relate the essence of the action. Dramatic action always presents an idealisation and thereby can only play with *types* of characters that display a virtue, whereas the novel can induce the virtue in the reader thanks to the truthfulness of its descriptions to a real person's inner struggles; the novel presents the inner turmoil and leaves no step unexplained:

The novel is therefore a painting of human actions motivated from within; that's how it differs from history. This painting is perfect in all its parts; it is a portrait, in which all nuances of form and colour of the original are expressed; that is how it differs from the drama, which according to its nature must idealise its model and can merely represent its contours.⁷³

The contemplative mode is not only superior to the conversational one, but in addition, it is also superior to reality and bears the only truth:

The truth in moral values (which in a novel motivate everything and unify it thereby) provides the source of all happiness, which the spirit delights in, when it traces the details of the action back to the moral disposition of the acting personages.⁷⁴

⁷³ "Versuch über das Verhältnis vom Roman zum Drama," 115-116: "Der Roman ist also ein motiviertes Gemählde menschlicher Handlungen; dadurch unterscheidet er sich von der Geschichte. Dieses Gemählde ist in allen seinen Theilen vollendet; es ist ein Portrait, an dem alle Nuancen der Formen und des Colorits des Originals getreulich ausgedrückt sind; dadurch unterscheidet sich der Roman von der dramatischen Gattung, welche, ihrer Wesenheit nach, ihr Modell idealisieren muss, und uns nur wenige Umrisse desselben darstellt."

⁷⁴ "Versuch über das Verhältnis vom Roman zum Dram," 110: "Die Wahrheit in den Sitten (die ja im Roman alles motivieren und ihn somit vereinigen) ist die Quelle des Vergnügens, das der Geist genießt, wenn er das ganze Detail der Handlung auf die moralische Beschaffenheit der Handelnden zurückführt."

Koch's *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* is exemplary for the transferral of Sulzer's unifying theory of *Begeisterung* to the art of composition. The state of enthusiasm guarantees the unification of the composition. However, his hesitancy with regards to instrumental music betrays that *Begeisterung* in his theories is still a state that relates to either a specific object or a particular emotion. Despite his insistence on unity created by the triumvirate *Anlage*, *Ausführung* und *Ausarbeitung*, whereby the large structure, *Anlage*, is the main part that must be inspired by *Geist* (and should be completed in one compositional sitting), meaning is not yet derived from this unity itself.

Though Reicha pointed at the idea of universally pleasing patterns, it was the French music theorist Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny who formulated the first theory of composition that posits the unity of art beyond reality. In his *Cours complet d'harmonie et de composition d'après une théorie neuve et générale de la musique*, first published in 1806, he placed taste above all else. However, in contrast to Koch, who advised that one acquires taste "durch viel Übung und Anhörung guter Tonstücke," Momigny advised the "reading of scores:"

One should take recourse to the scores of composers, which are fit to serve as exemplary models. One ought to study them a hundred times until one is sure to know their style and *Geist*. As soon as a musician can sing by sight, his attention must be focussed primarily on the daily reading of Haydn's quartets, not operas. ... It is best if he learns to comprehend them by himself and such efforts will be rewarded greatly: what a great pleasure it will be to him when he has reached the degree of familiarity with them that the reading of all voices at once is easier for him than the reading of only one for the common musician. One grasps not simply the entire score at once, but one feels its

effects to such a degree that no performance can be as complete as the inner feeling of its meaning.⁷⁵

Here the acquisition of taste works via the reader's imagination unmediated by the performer. The true spirit therefore lies in the compositional unity that can be found on the page. In true fashion then, the primary feature of a good composition is its form; harmony merely serves to punctuate form. Therefore one must learn from models, not from rules, as form can only be taught in models.⁷⁶

Momigny believed in the *goût absolu*. Though he acknowledged that taste is to a certain degree subject to fashions, nations etc., he proposed that true taste is universal, independent of fashion and all local conventions. This *goût* shines through in the perfection of arts and letters of the *grand epochs*, which however come in different arts at different times.⁷⁷ Music finally reached this zenith for the first time

⁷⁵ Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny. *Cours complet d'harmonie et de composition d'après une théorie neuve et générale de la musique, basée sur les principes incontestables, puisés dans la nature, d'accord avec tous les bons ouvrages-pratiques, anciens ou modernes, et mis, par leur clarté, à la portée de tout le monde* (Paris: chez l'auteur, 1806). German translation in Albert Palm, *Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny: Leben und Werk* (Köln: Arno Volk Verlag Hans Gerig KG, 1969), 73: "Man soll die Partituren von Komponisten zu Rate ziehen, die geeignet sind, als Vorbilder zu dienen. Man soll sie hundertmal studieren, bis man ihren Stil und Geist kennt. Sobald ein angehender Musiker vom Blatt solfeggieren kann, soll es seine erste Sorge sein, sich Quartettpartituren Haydns, keine Opernpartituren, zu beschaffen und sie Tag für Tag zu lesen. (Wenn er sie sich erklären lassen kann, wird es seine Mühe verkürzen, doch ist es um so besser, wenn er sie allein begreifen lernt. Solche Mühe wird tausendfach belohnt; denn) welchen Genuß bedeutet diese Lektüre für den, dem es nach und nach gelingt, sie zu verstehen, und welches größere Vergnügen für den, der derart damit vertraut ist, dass ihm das Lesen aller Stimmen leichter fällt als gewöhnlichen Musikern das Lesen nur einer Stimme. Man erfasst nicht allein die ganze Partitur mit einem Blick, sondern fühlt ihre Wirkungen in einem Maße, dass keine Ausführung so vollkommen sein kann wie das innige Gefühl des Wertes."

⁷⁶ *Encyclopedie méthodique. Tome Musique*, Publiée par MM. Framery et Ginguéné (Paris: chez Panchouke, 1791), § "goût", written by Momigny based on Rousseau, 396: "C'est un jugement plus habiles que la raison, qui prononce, non d'après des règles, mais d'après des modèles et des exemples."

⁷⁷ *Encyclopedie méthodique*, 396.

with Mozart and Haydn and it was to their music that Momigny turned in order to transmit the *goût absolut*.

Momigny's teaching method relied on exposés of works that illustrate the genius of art. In an analytical reading of Mozart's string quartet K 421, Momigny clarified his position that *Geist* is no longer born of the emotions of the composer, but rather is the defining feature of art itself. By equating the art of poetry of the ancient world with Mozart's art of music, he sought to illustrate that true art is unified by a universal spirit that will determine its form, so that all works that possess this true spirit can be brought into relation with each other. Momigny presented Mozart's Allegro moderato from K 421 in full score; under the score he added another stave to indicate the melodic cadences, two staves that indicate harmonic structure and two staves that present a version of the quartet for voice and piano, setting the drama of Dido and Aeneas. Finally, the *bass fondamentale* is indicated in the lowest stave (see Figure 4). His analysis was concerned with displaying the relationship of parts to whole – motivic features are linked to an overarching dramatic structure. Hereby Momigny was certain to point out that the underlay with words is motivated not by the linguistic character of the music that permitted a segregation into utterances, periods and sentences, but that it serves to illustrate the arch of dramatic tension that is inherent in the music and that unifies the composition.

CHAPITRE ET PLANCHE TRENTE.

109

Planche 30.

QUATUOR DE MOZART.

(Fig.A.) All.^o Moderato. *tr*

1^{re} Violon. *sotto voce.*

2^e Violon.

Alto-Viola

Basse.

Cadences
Mélodiques. 1 2 3 4 5 *Hémistiche* 6

Cadences
Harmoniques. 1 2 3

Chant
et
Accompagné.
de
PIANO.

DIDON

Ah! quand tu fais mon déplaisir, in.

Basse Fond: All.^o Moderato.

Suite du Chapitre et PLANCHE 30.

110

Queue

complément

lien

lien

grat, je veux me plaindre et non pas t'at tendrir.

Figure 4: Momigny – Cours Complète – Chapitre 13, Planche 30

As such, the elements are not simply subjugated under a larger incentive, but rather spring from this overarching meaning, its *Geist*. The poetry is Momigny's and merely serves to account for every detail in the music as part of the dramatic, psychological understanding of the piece. Thus, certain chords are interpreted as "interjections" or "outcries," whereas overlapping phrases are interpreted as psychological "mixed messages," yet each element is rooted in the overall structure and is therefore comprehensible. The dialogue character of Mozart's music, i.e. its interaction, is here transferred from the instruments onto characters (Dido is the violin, Aeneas the cello and, towards the end, Dido's sister is presented by the viola), yet

all of them function like puppets in the hands of the authorial puppet master: the overarching *goût absolut*. The theatrical dialogue is replaced by the novelistic monologue.

The interaction between players is replaced by the interaction of parts that can be contemplated and imagined, i.e. performed by the solitary perceiver. As such the act of a sounding performance is now subjugated to the inner essence of the piece, rather than establishing this essence. The performer, whose duty it is to do justice to the detail in the true spirit of the whole, is muted into the role of the executor who has to grasp the spirit of the piece *before* the act of playing, not through the act of playing with his colleagues. In his *Méthode de Piano* of 1802 Momigny spoke of the essential spiritual act of conquering the work of art, which must be assisted by the study of phrasing, articulation, manners etc., all of which may serve the transmission of the conquered work of art. For Momigny an analysis was a performance because the true spirit of a piece of music pre-exists any type of sounding performance; it is encoded in the text. Whereas performance once was the establishment of meaning, it now merely relayed meaning. Here, notation has taken over the role of performance - the establishment of meaning - just as the social category of taste is replaced by metaphysics.

Epilogue

Momigny ordered the relationship between art and man into a deistic system that posits art as a higher truth, which is reflected through each work of art created by genius. The prerogative of ordinary man is simply to recognise and empathise with the great art of genius and through this with a higher truth. Enlightenment in Momigny's sense is simply the process of consciously recognising the elements of this higher truth through the interplay of sensation and *Vernunft*. Within each artwork this higher truth is conveyed through the careful balance of unity through variety or variety in unity ("L'unité et la variété"), and it is this balance that aligns artworks with each other:

Unity is the first of the two great principles on which harmony is based, not only in music as in all the other arts, but in the universe itself.¹

Momigny subjugated every element of musical composition to this grand unity, starting with intervallic patterns and harmonies, extending to themes and ideas, which are guided by few *Ur*-ideas, the *idées mères*, to the above-mentioned "cadence" structure, i.e. the periods and overall form of each piece of music. His system served at once as method for composition as well as style criticism, which betrays Momigny's absolute beliefs in the higher truth of art, as the acquisition of taste and the creation of art become one and the same thing. His *Cours complet* is no longer simply a didactic treatise for the

¹ Momigny, *Cours complet d'harmonie et de composition* (Paris, 1803/06), II: 541: "L'unité est le premier des deux grands principes sur lesquels repose l'harmonie, non-seulement dans la musique et dans tous les arts, mais dans L'Univers lui-même." The aesthetic principle of unity and variety can, of course, be traced throughout the eighteenth century and, in fact, finds its origins in Aristotle.

acquisition of rules and guidelines, but equally for the exegesis of a higher truth. It is the performer's duty to feel the artistic-spiritual unity that underlies each piece of music through each phrase and to expose the spiritual content that lies behind its sounding surface.

This silencing of the professional performer and eradication of the amateur musician altogether is testimony both to Momigny's political beliefs, inspired particularly by France's tumultuous recent history, and to a widespread evolution in aesthetic belief that had its origins in German learned circles. As with van Swieten, Momigny's musical interests were part of his larger political affiliations, which he exposed in numerous compositions, political essays and tracts on the education of citizens.² His belief in the divine right inspired him in 1814 to take an ultra-royalist stand that suffused his ideas on education. Earthly life is directed towards God, and the King is God's representative on earth. Momigny extended this system of unity to the individual by defining him as a member of the nuclear family headed by the King's representative, the father. This threefold authority - God, King and father - creates a unity that Momigny placed in opposition to the chaos that, in his opinion, was caused by revolutionary ideals. Society is united through three pillars: family, monarchy and religion, and these three are harmonious with each other. God-given, they are true and sublime instantiations of nature and, therefore, are natural to man and harmonious with society. This harmony of society is granted if every member is conscious of his role and acts accordingly; it relies

² Momigny composed six political tracts, the one dealing most explicitly with the education of the citizen subject was *A Louis Philippe, Roi des Français* (Paris: De Decourchant, 1831). See also Palm, *J.J. de Momigny*.

on the authority of the father/ King and the subservience of his sons, daughters and wife / subjects. Momigny's model state, like his ideal of art, functions through the harmonious interplay of unity and variety. In fact, the centralised monarchy – for Momigny the only natural state – operates like an artistic unit that is based on his model of *idées mères*. The education of citizens towards this natural state is based on a continual process of forming hierarchies:

To arrange according to degree and to establish hierarchies means to put matters in their place according to their price, their age, their capacity, their scale, their strength, their knowledge, their wisdom, their courage and their power.³

Momigny claimed that the freedom of the press which during the revolutionary years had fostered the continual questioning of orders instead of teaching the acceptance of a natural order, endangered both the state and art by usurping the natural order that is fundamental to both. For Momigny, the authority of state and art were given and man's duty was simply to hone his skills of recognition.

At the same time, Momigny's artistic belief in a higher substantiation of reality, that no longer searches for the validation of art in the effect on the beholder, nor in the purpose of its creation and re-creation, inspired his systematic formulation of this higher order through the essential paradigm of unity and variety. This paradigm offers a window onto a higher ideal and thus forms a theoretical

³ Momigny, *A Louis Philippe, roi des Français*. Quoted in Palm, *J.J. de Momigny*, 90: "Echelonner ou hiérarchiser, c'est mettre les choses dans leur rang, selon leur prix, leur age, leur capacité, leur étendue, leur force, leur savoir, leur sagesse, leur courage ou leur puissance."

counterpart to contemporaneous North German aesthetic theories of idealism.⁴

Idealism received a revival in late eighteenth-century Germany, instigated by works such as Friedrich Schiller's *Ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* and Kant's *Critique of Judgement*, and its ideas emerged fully-theorised in the writings of Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Joseph von Schelling and August Wilhelm Schlegel.⁵ Idealism, in essence, valued spirit over matter, so that art became the substantiation of a higher truth and a reality beyond. It was man's duty to recognise this substantiation by examining his own perceptions of art. Art, therefore, allowed man to glimpse a higher truth through the solitary interaction of each individual with art's monadic models, i.e. individual works of art. The essential belief in man's power of perception and the idea that art is the representation of a higher reality were shared tenets of the German idealists and of Momigny's belief system. Both relied on the solitary and internal reconstruction of a piece of music (or any other work of art) as the sole window onto the true and universal *Geist*. But whereas Momigny tied this belief to a specific political system, the German Idealists fundamentally rejected any communal system, replacing the strictures of political and social life with the freedom of

⁴ The parallels between Momigny's theories and German music theories by August Apel have been drawn by Lisa Fishman. However, she over-emphasises Momigny's reliance on a poetry in order to illustrate the grand unity of different arts rather than focusing on the idea of equating them simply to show the higher ideal that infuses both. See Lisa Fishman, "To tear the Fetter of Every Other Art: Early Romantic Criticism and the Fantasy of Emancipation," *19th-Century Music* 25 / 1 (Summer, 2001): 75-86; compare also August Apel, "Musik und Poesie," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* VIII (16/32 April 1806): 449-57, 465-70.

⁵ On the correlation between the rise of instrumental music and German idealism see Mark Evan Bonds, "Idealism and the Aesthetics of Instrumental Music at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Association* 50 No.2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1997): 387-420.

eternity. As the individual is transcended by the higher truth of art, he experiences a new freedom from the world of objects and, more so, from the communal world. Interestingly, the responsibility towards society is taken away from the individual in both Momigny's and the German Idealists' belief system by relocating morality as part of the higher order, instead of considering it an inherent human quality in need of exercise and education. Momigny posited the strictures of an autocratic society that is ultimately headed by God as the only political system that frees the individual from earthly struggles so as to focus on the self-furtherance towards higher goals. Conversely, the German Idealists saw the emergent political situation as irresolvable and untenable, thereby in essence advising a total extradition from political life. Both, however, omitted the idea of self-furtherance as present in Sonnenfels' and van Swieten's theories, a self-furtherance aimed at advancing man's inherent social tendencies. Although the idea of a *Begeisterung* that inspired the work of art was already indicated in theories influential on van Swieten, and his "Lesung der klassischen Schriften der Alten" betrayed the belief in universal values of art that are transmitted in shapes, patterns and forms, van Swieten still focussed largely on the *manner* of exegesis, and this was an inherently communal one. In both Momigny and the German Idealist philosophies this communality was rejected wholeheartedly. As such, the category of taste as a communal negotiation of values was replaced by taste as the sensitivity towards universal values, which are ultimately dictated. It remains to be seen whether the early Romantics' liberalisation of the self as an actual, total self wasn't therefore a colonisation of the

aesthetic self, that locked the individual into the eternal circle of universal belief and individual perception.

In two seminal studies, Jürgen Habermas and Reinhard Koselleck defined the "public" as a forum, in which art's interests coincide with the collective interest of a public. Only through this conflation is the "public sphere" a forum for creativity and critique simultaneously, and it is this simultaneity that gives it its meaning. This public in which creativity and critique interact freely must be independent of political interests, religion and class; the public is therefore independent of the state and politically powerless. Here critique's only purpose is the education of the individual's morality. Habermas and Koselleck located this ideal of a "public sphere" historically in the late eighteenth century, when, according to Koselleck,

art emerged as the antithesis of contemporary government, a manifestation of the eighteenth-century intellectual structure which turned the world into a stage of opposing forces.⁶

Critique is the art of judgement that determines truth and value. Art therefore must be inherently critical if it is supposed to be politically and religiously independent. In order to be both subject of and medium for criticism, and therefore aid each individual's skill for communal negotiation, art has to speak a language shared by artist and beholder, and this language has to spring from the community of the two. Only the integration of art and public in its critique gives meaning and value to art.

⁶ Reinhart Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis. Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1957/1988), 100.

Although the conflation of a normative model with a historical actuality in both Habermas' and Koselleck's theories is certainly controversial,⁷ nevertheless as applied to the instrumental music of the late eighteenth century it offers historical and social characteristics that comply with this normative ideal. Instrumental chamber music in particular presents a semiotic system, a powerful tool which, when recognised as such by both composers and music lovers, offers an ideal forum for the interaction of social classes and for communal education through this interaction. Because this music appeals as much to man's sensuality as to his *Vernunft*, it functions as an effective system of communication that crosses the boundaries between artist and music lover; it is based on the balance of recognition and novelty that allows for participation and critique. The Viennese chamber music culture of the 1780s and 90s brought forth an abundance of seemingly formulaic pieces that seem to tally better with a picture of frivolous and superficial Viennese entertainments than with ideas of *Bildung*. Within a music history that accounts for art as a serious agent in social criticism, however, these works gain the highly relevant status of educational objects, because they stand at the intersection of art, *Bildung* and entertainment.

⁷ Peter Uwe Hohendahl and Marc Silberman, "Critical Theory, Public Sphere and Culture: Habermas and his Critics," *New German Critique* 16 (Winter, 1979): 89-118.

APPENDIX 1

String Quintets offered for sale by J. Traeg in 1799 ⁽⁷⁸⁾

Library Sigla:

F-Pn	Bibliothèque nationale Paris / France
S-Skma	Statens Musikbibliothek Stockholm / Sweden
Wgm	Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien / Austria
Wn	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien / Austria

Other abbreviations:

WZ:	Wiener Zeitung
KS:	Kaisersammlung
NI:	not definitively identified
Benton:	Rita Benton, <i>Ignace Pleyel: A Thematic Catalogue of his Compositions</i> (New York: Pendragon Press, 1977)
Gérard:	Yves Gérard, <i>Thematic, Bibliographical, and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini</i> , trans. Andreas Mayor (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1969)

Titles are as listed with the following abbreviations:

Qui:	Quintetto
221:	2 violins, 2 violas, bass

No	Composer	Title	No of mov.	Sources (Identification)
Geschrieben				
	Albrechts-berger	6 sonate 2vn, 2vla et basso		Op.3 or Op.22?
		6 son à 3vn 1vla et basso		Op.6 or Op.9b
1	Capuzzi	6 Quintetti Concert.	4	Wgm: IX 31818
2		"	4	"
3		"	4	"
4		"	4	"
5		"	4	"
6		"	4	"
	Distler	6 Quintetti Concert.		NI
	Gassmann	Quintuor	4	Traeg mentions only one, but KS contains 6, see "other Quintets"
	Haydn,	6 Quintetti		NI

⁷⁸) **Verzeichniß** alter und neuer sowohl geschriebener als gestochener Musikalien, welche in der Kunst- und Musikalienhandlung des **Johann Traeg, zu Wien**, in der Singerstrasse Nr 957 zu haben sind. Kostet 30 **Kr. Wien 1799**

	Gius.	Sinfonien à 2 2 1 arr.		
1	Haydn, Michael	6 Quintetti à detti		Notturmo Sherman/Thomas 187
2		"		Notturmo ST 189
3		"		Quintetto ST 367
4		"		Traeg NB: the first violin can be replaced by a flute, the second viola by a horn
5		"		Traeg NB: à vn ob fg viole vllo
6		"		Quintetto ST 412
	Hoffmann	3 qui 1 2 2	?	WZ: 1792 / 1799
1	Kospoth	6 qui 2 2 1	3	WZ: 1787 KS 11451
2		"	3	KS 11452
3		"	3	KS 11453
4		"	3	KS 11454
5		"	3	KS 11455
6		"	3	KS 11456
	Misliwecz ek	6 qui		NI
	Mozart	Grand Quintetto	(4)	K 516?
		Arrang.	(4)	K 581 (clarinet qui)?
		"		NI
		"		NI
		"		NI
		"	(3)	K 407 (horn qui)?
		"		NI
		Grand Quintetto	(4)	WZ: 1794, K 614?
		2 qui arrang.		WZ: 1792
		6 qui Sinfonien arrang.		WZ: 1794
1-3	Pleyel	3 qui Sinfonien arrang.		NI
1-3		3 qui		NI
		Quintetto		NI
1	Tinti	Quintetto	2	WZ: 1792 Wn-MS41761
2		"	2	Wn-MS41762
3		"	2	Wn-MS41763
	Titz	qui	3	Wgm: IX 5405 as No.3
		"	3	" as No.2
		"		
		"	3	" as No.1
1-6	Zimmermann	6 detti a 3 1 1		WZ: 1787 See "other quintets"
1-6		6 detti a 3 1 1		"
Stich				
1-6	Boccherini	6 qui conc. 2 1 2 op.12		NI
1-6		6 detti op.13	(3/4)	Gérard 277 of 1772?
1-6		6 detti op.17		Flute quis, G. 419 of 1773

1-6		6 detti op. 20	(No.1: 5/all others 4)	Gérard 294 of 1775
1-6		6 detti op. 23		NI
1-6		6 detti op. 33		NI
1-6	Piticchio	6 qui	?	WZ: 1786/ 1789
	Sterkel	qui 2 2 1	3	Wgm: IX2017 Wn-MS27386
Offenbach				
1-3	Brändl	3 qui 2 2 1 op.2 Liv.1	?	As publ. by André, Offenbach in D-Mbs 4.Mus.pr.37332
1-3		3 qui 2 2 1 op.2 Liv. 2	?	"
1	Hoffmeister	qui 2 2 1 op.32 Liv.1		NI
2		qui 2 2 1 op.32 Liv. 2		NI
3		qui 2 2 1 op.32 Liv. 3		NI
	Mozart	Grand qui No.1	(4)	K 515?
		detti op.24 Nr.3	(4)	K 406
		detti op. 37	(4)	K 614
1	Pleyel	3 qui op.9	3	Date: 1787, PN 159; Benton 274-76? (publ. With André); Wn-Ms28774 – vn 2 missing
2		"	3	"
3		"	3	"
1-3		3 detti op.18		NI
1		3 detti op. 22	3	WZ: 1786 (2 qui), Benton lists 2 qui op.22 at André ca. 1789: 278-279; she also lists one as Op.19 André: 277
2		"	3	
3		"	3	
		qui Nr. 3		WZ: 1789 qui in G;
		Nr. 4		André publ. Various arr. Of symphonies for qui
		Nr. 5		
1	Pichl	3 qui a detti op.30	3	WZ: 1797 and 1798; copy in Wn-MS27587 – various pages in the 1st violin part have been replaced with ms copied pages
2		"	3	"
3		"	3	"
1	Wranizky Paul	3 qui Op.29	3	WZ: 1795 (3 qui withou op.No.) S-Skma (Mazer Collection)
2			3	"
3			3	"
1		3 qui op. 18 Liv. 2	3	S-Skma (Mazer Collection)
2			3	"
3			4	"
1		3 qui	3	Probably op.18 Liv.1 publ. By

				André in 1792-3, and in Paris as Op.14 in 1791 S-Skma (Mazer Collection)
2			3	"
3			4	"
Wien				
	Eybler	Grand qui 2 2 1 op.5	4	WZ: 1798 Wgm IX185
2	Krommer	3 detti op. 8 Liv. 2	4	WZ: 1798 "ganz neu", but Op.11 No.1 and 2 are a republ. Of Op.8 No.1 and 2 S-Skma (Mazer Collection)
	Mozart	Grand qui op.33		K 287 Artaria
		detti op. 39	(4)	K 593?
		detti No.6 in Bb	4	K 174 (first edition) WZ: 1798
Augsburg				
1	Krommer	3 detti op.8 Liv. 1	4	WZ: 1796, 1797
2			4	
3			4	

**Further quintets advertised and circulated in Vienna before 1805
extant in part copies**

Composer	Title	No of mov.	Source / Advertisement
Beethoven	Op.29	4	WZ: 1803 /Traeg cat. 1804
Cambini	Op.23 No.1	2	WZ: 1795
	Op.23 No.2	2	WZ: 1795
Eybler	Op.6 No.1	4	WZ: 1801 /Traeg cat. 1804 Also published as Op.5 Wgm: IX185
	Op.6 No.2	6	WZ:1801/ Traeg cat. 1804 Wgm: IX23322
Förster	Op.19	4	WZ: 1801 /Traeg cat. 1804
	Op.20	4	WZ: 1802 /Traeg cat. 1804
	Op.26	4	WZ: 1803 /Traeg cat. 1804
	Op.36	?	WZ: 1800 /Traeg cat. 1804
Gassmann	Quintuor	4	KS 11430
		5	KS11431
	"	5	KS 11432
	"	4	KS 11433
	"	4	KS 11434
	"	5	Ks 11435
Hoffmeister	Op.3 No.1	?	Traeg cat. 1804
	Op.3 No.2	?	Traeg cat. 1804
	Op.62	?	Traeg cat. 1804
Müller, Silverius	No.1	3	WZ: Traeg advert of 1788, not in Traeg 1799 cat. Wgm: IX 18993
	No.2	3	Wgm: IX 18994
	No.3	3	Wgm: IX 18995
Wranitzky, Anton	Op.8	4	Traeg cat. 1804 Wgm: IX 1040
	"	4	Ibid.
	"	4	Ibid.
	Grand qui Op.10	4	Wgm: IX 1041
Zimmer- mann	No.1	3	Wn: Sm 11533
	No.2	3	Wn: Sm 11534
	No.3	3	Wn: Sm 11535
	No.4	3	Wn: Sm 11536
	No.5	3	Wn: Sm 11537
	No.6	3	Wn: Sm 11538
	No.7	3	Wn: Sm 11539
	No.8	3	Wn: Sm 11540
	No.9	3	Wn: Sm 11541
	No.10	3	Wn: Sm 11542
	No.11	3	Wn: Sm 11543
	No.12	3	Wn: Sm 11544

APPENDIX II

Quintets with movements that feature prominent unison passages

Composer	Quintet Identification	Mov. No.
Capuzzi	6 Quintetti Concertante, No.1 Traeg 1799 (Wgm: IX 31818)	I, II
	", No.2	I, II, IV
	", No.3	I
	", No.4	III
	", No.5	I, II
Cambini	Op.2 No.5 (F-Pn Ac.e4.103)	I
	Op.23 No.1	I
	Op.23, No.2	I
Catel	Op.1, No.1 (F-Pn A.33.425)	I
	Op.1, No.2	III
Eybler	Op.5 (Wgm IX185)	III
Fiorillo	Op.12, No.1 (F-Bn A.33.957)	I
	Op.12, No.3	II
Gassmann	Quintetto No.1 (KS 11431)	I
	Quintetto No.4 (KS 11434)	I
Haensel	Op.9 (F-Pn Ac.e5.146)	I
Kospoth	Six Quintetti, No.1 Traeg 1799 (WZ, 1787) (KS 11451)	I
	", No.2 (KS 11452)	I
	", No.3 (KS 11453)	I
	", No.4 (KS 11454)	I
	", No.5 (KS 11455)	I
	", No.6 (KS 11456)	I
Krommer	Op.8, No.2 (F-Pn Vma.2446)	I
	Op.8, No.3	I
Mozart	K 174	I, II, III, IV
	K 406	I
	K 593	IV
Pleyel	Op.9, No.2 (Benton 275) (Wn-Ms28774)	I
Pichl	Op.30, No.1 (Wn-Ms27586)	I
	Op.30, No.2 (Wn-Ms27587)	I
	Op.30, No.3 (Wn-Ms27588)	I
Tinti	Tre Quintetti No.1 (Wn-Ms41761)	I
	No.3	II
Titz	Quintetto No.2 (Wgm IX5405)	I
Wranitzky, Anton	Grand Quintetto Op.10 (Wgm IX1041)	III
Wranitzky, Paul	Op.18, Liv.2, No.1 (S-Skma Mazer Coll.)	I
	Op.18, Liv.1, No.3 (S-Skma Mazer Coll.)	I
	Op.14, Liv.2 (F-Pn Ac.e5.55)	I,III
Zimmermann	Quintetto No.5 (Wn-Sm11537)	I
	Quintetto No.7 (WN-Sm11540)	I

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